Working-Class Culture and Practice amid Urban Renewal and Decline: Liverpool, c.1965-1985

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Abstract

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This thesis examines the relationship between Liverpool's urban space and its inner city communities between 1965 and 1985. As a period in which the city was buffeted by urban planning, urban renewal and urban decline, it illustrates the profound effects these processes had over the materiality of the city and the geography and culture of its communities. In doing so, it exposes the mutually constitutive relations between people and place in the postwar city. Landscapes created by planners and local government, and their subsequent decline, deeply shaped the structure of and potential for everyday life. The rich and diverse populations that existed underneath and alongside these processes demonstrates how communities retained an agency within these frameworks with which to shape their own lives. Their cultures and practices were deeply embedded within the cityscape, immeasurably shaping Liverpool.

In drawing upon a combination of oral histories, photography and archival sources (including sociologies and urban planning documents), this thesis considers the relationship between the state, the city and its citizens. It illustrates how attempts to exert authority and control over the urban working class were met with myriad responses. It demonstrates the capacity of Liverpool's inner city communities to resist, thwart and modify the plans and schemes that attempted to mould and shape their behaviour. It positions mundane and everyday cultures and practices as a form of resistance to exercises in state power. Moreover, it stipulates that these interactions 'produced' a series of spaces, to which the spaces of religion, sport, childhood and policing are examined. In illustrating the disparity between the city's attempted shaping and actual use, it stresses the need for histories to focus on the experiences of the planned, and not simply on the plan or the planners.

This thesis also provides a detailed investigation into the spaces, places and discursive constructs that became adopted into discourses regarding the inner city's social breakdown. It furthers our understandings into the particularities of its "crisis" and exposes the diverse ways in which these endemic notions filtered down into everyday life. Furthermore, in presenting the memories of renewal and decline through oral histories, it critiques the wider cultural representations that have obscured, marginalised and stereotyped the inner city's residents. Instead, it positions the inner city as a lively, productive and contested social and cultural space. In doing so, it contributes to our understandings of postwar working-class life and the history of the postwar British city.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

Department of the Environment Inner Area Studies (IAS)

Great George's Community Arts Project (GGCAP)

Huntley Film Archives (HFA)

Interim Planning Policy Statement (IPPS)

ITN Archive (ITNA)

Liverpool City Centre Plan (LCCP)

Loyal Orange Lodge (LOL)

Liverpool Record Office (LRO)

National Archives (TNA)

North West Film Archive (NWFA)

Open Eye Gallery Archive (OEGA)

Operational Support Division (OSD)

Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC)

Saint Francis Xavier's Church (SFX)

Urban Regeneration Strategy (URS)

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Introduction

Changing Approaches to the British Inner City

Writing in the *Spectator* in 1977, the journalist and author Christopher Booker reflected upon the apparently perilous state of the British city. In typically emotive fashion, Booker informed his readers that:

> We have seen one of the great fantasies of our time burgeon forth from the minds of a few visionaries to make hell on earth for millions of people. And now it is over, leaving only what remains of our wrecked, blighted, hideously disfigured cities behind.[1]

Although Booker would further elaborate upon this grandiose statement in the following lines, the task was essentially unnecessary. His readership would have intuitively understood what he meant. The year was 1977, the inner city had been the subject of considerable concern for over a decade, and the Callaghan administration was about to make tackling the problems of urban decline a key government policy. Like Booker, they too would have seen what remained, albeit from the safe distance of a railway carriage or of a motor vehicle speeding along one of the city's arterial routes. That same year, the architects and town planners, Hugh Wilson and Lewis Womersley, summarised the otherworldly view that the passing commuter peered out to, and that so concerned Booker. The inner city was a place of:

> Long terraces of small bye-law houses built for the working classes a hundred years ago in the industrial areas, many still unimproved and long past affording adequate living conditions for the last quarter of the century. Of substantial town houses built in the nineteenth century for the wealthy middle classes but now split up into flats and furnished rooms for a varied and changing population. Of overcrowded blocks of council flats, ravaged by vandalism. The inner areas have become the homes of the unskilled, the unemployed, the socially disadvantaged and, increasingly, of dense concentrations of black people…*They* live their lives amid derelict industrial sites, abandoned docks, disused railway sidings, boarded up shops, empty warehouses and factories and vacant

[1] C. Booker, 'Death of an Image', *Spectator*, 2nd April 1977

> land. This is the visible image; rundown slums, almost ghettos, sandwiched between redeveloped city centres and the suburbs.[2]

The passer-by was witnessing the results of a turbulent three decades for British cities, though arguably the worst was yet to come. Within four years the most violent outbreaks of public order disturbances for half a century erupted in Brixton and the inner cities of Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds. The collapse, it appeared, was total.

The situation had not always looked so forbidding. On the contrary, the mood of Booker, Wilson and Womersley could not have been more different from the quixotic optimism that had signalled the beginning of the previous decade. During the second half of the twentieth-century cities across Britain underwent a series of overwhelming transformations, as from the mid-1950s onwards they would consciously and confidently attempt to throw off their dreary and war-damaged Victorian façades and, through slum clearance and renewal projects, rebuild for a bright and modern future. Under the pervasive influence of urban modernism, which appeared to offer what John Gold described as 'logical and unambiguous solutions to previously intractable urban problems', radical schemes to reshape and redevelop became routine.[3] The very idea of metropolitan living was being radically altered and, drawing from diverse influences like Ebenezer Howard's *Garden Cities of To-Morrow* and Le Corbusier's *Ville Radieuse*, municipalities across Britain – some decrepit, some less so – were razed in the name of a better future. Utopia would, however, never be reached, the brave new world failing to emerge out of the ashes of the old. With plans half completed, the postwar British city faced up to the devastating consequences of global economic restructuring, depopulation and

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[2] Italics added by author. H. Wilson and L. Womersley, *Change or Decay: Final Report of the Liverpool Inner Area Study* (London: HMSO, 1977), p. 1

[3] J. Gold, *The Practice of Modernism: Modern Architects and Urban Transformation, 1954-1972* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 10. A complex, diverse and rich architectural movement, Modernism remains an ill-defined term perhaps better theorised as an array of individual positions and formal practices within a loosely defined field. For further discussion, see, S. Goldhagen, 'Something to Talk About: Modernism, Discourse, Style', *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 64.2 (2005), pp. 144-167; G. Ortolano, 'Planning the Urban Future in 1960s Britain', *The Historical Journal*, 54.2 (2011), pp. 505-507; O. Saumarez Smith, 'Graeme Shankland: A Sixties Architect-Planner and the Political Culture of the British Left', *Architectural History*, 57 (2014), pp. 416-417

urban decline, particularly after the 1973 oil crisis. Whether by reconstruction or recession, vast swathes of the urban landscape were transformed during a period in which Gold has argued that 'the urban fabric changed more dramatically than almost any comparable period in British history.'[4]

New perspectives on this tale are necessary. As Leif Jerram has noted, a central problem in our approach to the postwar city is that we 'have been conditioned by a set of problematic cultural values.'[5] In proclaiming that what remained was *wrecked*, *blighted* and *hideously disfigured*, Booker inadvertently highlights the two major interpretative problems that have since permeated this massive environmental experiment. Firstly, the dystopian failure of postwar urban redevelopment, shaped by desolate and familiar scenes of inner city poverty; secondly, the mutilation of a soot-soaked and terraced Elysium, moulded by a host of nostalgic and misleading portrayals. With this has followed a discourse on working-class life that struggles to deviate from either the sentimental or the vilifying – the working class as innocent recipients of an ill-fated harvest sown by short-sighted planners and politicians, or, on the other hand, worked into mythologies around the formation of a feckless underclass. Retrospective and anachronistic, neither tale is conducive to informed historical research, or indeed grants any degree of agency to the communities who experienced such extreme social, economic and material change.

Urban problems have long been a source of fret and vexation. In fact, anxiety regarding the inner city during this period played into a long heritage of deeply rooted anti-urban attitudes and intermittent bouts of urban crises that, according to Raymond Williams, positioned the English city as 'a site of alienation and estrangement', and had been witnessed in previous discourses surrounding the slum, the Wen and the Rookery.[6] However, as suggested by Otto Saumarez Smith, by the 1970s the concept of the inner city had become 'a spatially materialised locus for all that was perceived to have gone wrong with

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[4] *Ibid*, p. 108

[5] L. Jerram, *Streetlife: The Untold History of Europe's Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 379

[6] R. Williams, *The Anxious City: English Urbanism in the Late Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 4

Britain's state and society in the postwar period.'[7] Driven by wider political and cultural anxieties and fuelled by the 'rediscovery of poverty', the image of an "inner city crisis" was propagated. In the decade leading up to the 1977 White Paper, *Policy for the Inner Cities* and the Inner Urban Areas Act 1978, successive governments conducted a series of experiments aimed at tackling the widening spatial and structural inequalities within British cities. As a result, the inner city became a point of solely negative association for the state. In the meantime, media outlets were eager to report on the lurid conditions of squalor and the failure of urban renewal programmes, meaning that by the late 1960s the British public was well used to panicked exposés reminiscent of the new journalistic accounts of Victorian London. Popular culture followed suit. When, for example, The Specials released the chart topping single 'Ghost Town' in June 1981, by addressing themes of unemployment, violence and urban decay they appeared to give poignant and eerily prophetic expression to the broader sense of crisis that infected Britain's urban environment.[8] Likewise, wanting to portray a nation reeling from nuclear attack in 1985, the BBC drama *Threads* eschewed expensive studio sets and instead filmed in and around Sheffield, the city apparently acting as a convincing substitute. Fulfilling a complex ideological, political and cultural role within the wider national context, the inner city, as a site of socioeconomic decline and a monument to the failure of urban modernism, thereby became a physical location where the emerging anxieties of the period appeared manifest. It became, in the words of Jacquelin Burgess, 'an alien place, separate and isolated, located outside white, middle-class values and environments.'[9]

The second of Booker's simplifications – the hideous disfigurement of the city – is similarly flawed, reliant on fictional urban pastorals of postwar working-class streets as models of community and neighbourliness. The albeit well-intentioned pop-sociology of the 1950s and 1960s, such as Wilmott and

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[7] O. Saumarez Smith, 'The Inner City Crisis and the End of Urban Modernism in 1970s Britain', *Twentieth Century British History*, 27.4 (2016), p. 581

[8] 'The Deindustrialising City: Urban, Architectural and Socio-Cultural Perspectives', two-day conference held at German Historical Institute of London, 12th-13th December 2016

[9] J. Burgess, 'News From Nowhere: The Press, the Riots and the Myth of the Inner City' in J. Burgess and J. Gold (eds), *Geography, the Media and Popular Culture* (London: Croon Helm, 1985), p. 193

Young's *Family and Kinship in East London*, has, according to Selina Todd and Joe Moran, been 'too influential in creating an image of what 'traditional' working-class life was like', implying that it 'took place in hermetically sealed neighbourhoods that were entirely shaped by the virtues or otherwise of those who lived in them.'[10] Their colourful and elegiac narratives that paint the city as a stage upon which a series of superficial characters blindly act out 'life as it was'. Similarly replicated and popularised by gritty kitchen sink dramas, such as *A Taste of Honey*, *Coronation Street* and *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*, these depictions have continued in a raft of nostalgic works since. Indeed, Chris Waters has asserted that the disruptive experience of postwar modernity fuelled a desire to sentimentally memorialise interwar and immediate postwar working-class life, and the industrial North in particular.[11] At best, this offers an idealised vision of a mythical golden age, and at worst obstructs meaningful social analysis by romanticising significant hardship and disguising a diversity of experience across time, age, class, religion, race and gender. For example, Owen Hatherley correctly asserts that Terence Davies's poetically composed ode to a Liverpool long gone, *Of Time and the City* (2008):

> Said nothing about time other than 'it passes' and nothing about the city other than 'it ain't what it used to be', but with undeniable visual assurance it fixed in celluloid an accepted narrative: the city was betrayed, and betrayed by planners.'[12]

In rushing to condemn postwar planning experiments, it is all too easy to forget what was replaced. The slums were real, and poverty, overcrowding and disease were genuine and pressing urban problems. Squalor, it would appear, was proving the hardest of Beveridge's giants to slay as Harold Wilson's 1963 appeal to forge a "new Britain" out of the white-heat of technology was made at

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[10] S. Todd, *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class, 1910-2010* (London: John Murray, 2014), p. 176; J. Moran, 'Imagining the Street in Postwar Britain', *Urban History*, 39.1 (2012), pp. 170-172. For example, see M. Young and P. Wilmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957); M. Kerr, *The People of Ship Street* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958); C. Vereker and J. B. Mays, *Urban Redevelopment and Social Change: A Study of Social Conditions in Central Liverpool, 1955-56* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1961); P. Wilmott, *Adolescent Boys of East London* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966)

[11] C. Waters, 'Representations of Everyday Life: L. S. Lowry and the Landscape of Memory in Postwar Britain', *Representations*, 65 (1999), pp. 121-123

[12] O. Hatherley, *A Guide to the New Ruins of Great Britain* (London: Verso, 2010), p. 333

a time when British cities were *still* filled with slums, their children *still* playing in the remains of wartime bombsites. Jerram therefore warns against 'romanticising the fetid, diseased, filthy cities of war-torn Europe as the folksy environment of chirpy, salt-of-the-earth types.'[13] On the contrary, as areas often characterised by claustrophobia, unhappiness and bigotry, both David Kynaston and Selina Todd suggest that many were delighted to escape.[14]

This dissertation, then, challenges these narratives through the story of a postwar British city, Liverpool, and of the site that witnessed the most dramatic aspects of material, social and cultural change – the inner city. It begins in the mid-1960s, with the city optimistically and energetically rebuilding. It concludes in the mid-1980s, at a nadir in which managed decline and abandonment seemed a wholly plausible option. It is not a teleological evaluation of how 'it all went wrong' or an unquestioning lamentation for the old city's destruction under the pen of the planner and the bulldozer of the council. Similarly, it does not wish to specifically focus on the history of governmental and institutional responses to the inner city, of which excellent histories already exist.[15] Instead, it hopes to cut through the wider cultural representations that have obscured the everyday life of the city and marginalised or stereotyped its residents, shifting the focus onto those who seldom speak in this narrative – the individuals and communities of the inner city who witnessed significant changes that were, by in large, *enacted upon them*. Tracing what Kynaston terms 'the often ignored views of the planned', inner city communities – the vague and murky "they" of Wilson and Womersley's musings – adapted to, resisted and modified their everyday

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[13] Jerram, *Streetlife*, p. 374

[14] Todd, *The People*, p. 177; D. Kynaston, *Modernity Britain: Opening the Box, 1957-1959* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 51

[15] K. Mossberger and G. Stoker, 'Inner-City Policy in Britain: Why it Will Not Go Away', *Urban Affairs Review*, 32.3 (1997), pp. 378-402; S. Essex and M. Brayshay, 'Vision, Vested Interest and Pragmatism: Who Re-made Britain's Blitzed Cities?', *Planning Perspectives*, 22.4 (2007), pp. 417-441; P. Shapely, 'The Entrepreneurial City: The Role of Local Government and City-Centre Redevelopment in Post-War Industrial English Cities', *Twentieth Century British History*, 22.4 (2011), pp. 498-520; P. Shapely, 'Governance in the Post-War City: Historical Reflections on Public–Private Partnerships in the UK', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37.4 (2013), pp. 1288-1304; A. Lewis, 'Planning Through Conflict: Competing Approaches in the Preparation of Sheffield's Post-war Reconstruction Plan', *Planning Perspectives*, 28.1 (2013), pp. 27-49; P. Shapely, *Deprivation, State Interventions and Urban Communities in Britain, 1968-79* (London: Routledge, 2017)

routines, their identities, amongst the deteriorating circumstances in which they found themselves.[16] It is an obvious though often unremarked upon point that the changes wrought upon the city were not purely material. Postwar rebuilding fundamentally altered the *structure* and *experience* of everyday life for millions of people, as did the descent into urban decline that followed it. Four intertwined themes – religion, football, childhood and policing – are here used to reveal the everyday experience of communities witness to the dramatic changes of renewal and decline, caught in one of the most turbulent settings of recent British history. Viewed together they illustrate how concerns regarding the perceived breakdown of the inner city materialised and how subsequent actions affected their lives, exposing the diverse ways in which endemic notions of crisis filtered down into everyday life. It illustrates both the attempts to exert authority over the urban form and the urban working class, and the myriad responses to such attempts at control. It will demonstrate the capacity of ordinary people to resist, thwart and modify the grand plans of the modernist agenda. Crucially, it positions the inner city as a productive social and cultural space, home to a great diversity of culture and practice.

The thesis therefore seeks to link several distinct strands of academic study under the burgeoning umbrella that is often termed modern British studies. Building on recent work from historians such as David Kynaston, Joe Moran and Selina Todd provides a starting point for a richer understanding of postwar working-class life.[17] However, the analysis extends beyond the immediate postwar years and thereby contributes to the growing base of literature that is re-evaluating perspectives of political, social and economic crisis from the 1970s onwards.[18] By doing so, it hopes to join the expanding

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[16] Kynaston, *Modernity Britain: Opening the Box*, p. 51

[17] See D. Kynaston, *Austerity Britain, 1945-1951* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007); D. Kynaston, *Family Britain, 1951-1957* (London: Bloosmbury, 2009); Kynaston, *Modernity Britain: Opening the Box*; D. Kynaston, *Modernity Britain: A Shake of the Dice, 1959-1962* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014); Moran, 'Imagining the Street in Postwar Britain'; Todd, *The People*

[18] L. Black and H. Pemberton, 'The Benighted Decade? Reassessing the 1970s' in L. Black, H. Pemberton and P. Thane (eds), *Reassessing 1970s Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 1-24; C. Hay, 'Chronicles of a Death Foretold: The Winter of Discontent and the Construction of the Crisis of British Keynesianism', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 63.3 (2010), pp. 446-470; N. Tiratsoo, '"You've Never Had it so Bad?": Britain in the 1970s', in N. Tiratsoo (ed.), *From Blitz to Blair: A New History of Britain Since 1939* (London: Phoenix, 1998), pp. 173-190; J. Tomlinson, 'Tales of a Death Exaggerated: How Keynesian Policies Survived the 1970s',

literature on the study of everyday life and culture during the decade.[19] Again, however, the thesis seeks to do so through a new perspective: the relationship between people and place. It builds upon explicit urban histories that examine the cultures and processes of postwar planning, renewal and urban decline from historians such as Simon Gunn, John Gold, Otto Saumarez Smith and Peter Hall that, whilst providing excellent histories of *the planner*, and of *the plans*, have been less sustained in their attention towards *the planned*.[20] As a final consequence, the thesis hopes to contribute to recent trends in urban history that utilise overtly spatial approaches to investigate everyday urban cultures, yet seldom venture into late modernity, such as works from Leif Jerram, Matt Houlbrook, Judith Walkowitz and Simon Sleight.[21]

The thesis also seeks to address a significant limitation to earlier approaches in urban studies towards the inner city during this period, which treat it merely as a petri dish for the policies and experiments of government and private and voluntary agencies. Previous literatures – particularly regarding cities that were viewed as especially intractable, such as Liverpool – conceptualised the inner city merely as a site of socioeconomic problems and seldom as a site of social and cultural practice.[22] If the great planning

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Contemporary British History, 21.4 (2007), pp. 429-448; R. Saunders, 'Crisis? What Crisis?' Thatcherism and the Seventies' in B. Jackson and R. Saunders (eds), *Making Thatcher's Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 25-42

[19] For example, see J. Moran, '"Stand Up and be Counted": Hughie Green, the 1970s and Popular Memory', *History Workshop Journal*, 70.1 (2010), pp. 172-198; B. Osgerby, ''Bovver' Books of the 1970s: Subcultures, Crisis and Youth-Sploitation Novels', *Contemporary British History*, 26.3 (2012), pp. 299-331; A. Turner, *Crisis? What Crisis? Britain in the 1970s* (London: Aurum, 2008); S. Wetherell, 'Painting the Crisis: Community Arts and the Search for the 'Ordinary' in 1970s and '80s London', *History Workshop Journal*, 76.1 (2013), pp. 235-249

[20] Gold, *The Practice of Modernism*; S. Gunn, 'The Rise and Fall of British Urban Modernism: Planning Bradford, circa 1945-1970', *Journal of British Studies*, 49.4 (2010), pp. 849-869; P. Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002); Ortolano, 'Planning the Urban Future in 1960s Britain', pp. 477-507; Saumarez Smith, 'The Inner City Crisis and the End of Urban Modernism', pp. 578-598

[21] For an overview of this trend, see S. Gunn, 'The Spatial Turn: Changing Histories of Space and Place' in S. Gunn and R. Morris (eds), *Identities in Space: Contested Terrains in the Western City since 1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 1-14. For examples, see J. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); A. Long, *The Great Southern Babylon: Sex, Race, and Respectability in New Orleans, 1865-1920* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004); M. Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918-1957* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Jerram, *Streetlife*; S. Sleight, *Young People and the Shaping of Public Space in Melbourne, 1870-1914* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013)

[22] For example, see W. Gould and A. Hodgkiss (eds), *The Resources of Merseyside* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1982); B. Anderson and P. Stoney (eds), *Commerce, Industry and*

experiment had failed, if abstract global processes such as rationalisation and deindustrialisation were leaving their mark across Britain, then this was often documented through figures relating to unemployment or factory closures, all of which fail to grasp their qualitative effects and how they altered the subjective experience of *being within the city*. The everyday social and cultural realities of these new landscapes have, as yet, been little explored, despite their significance as a common experience of the postwar era.[23] As John Grindrod attests, there are millions of people – four million across London, Glasgow, Newcastle, Leeds, Manchester, Nottingham, Birmingham and Liverpool by 1977 – 'whose identities have been moulded by *concrete monstrosities* and *bad planning*.'[24] Nor should the inner city be treated in isolation. Urban renewal was entangled with the simultaneous policy of population dispersal and inner city problems bore many similarities to those of the outer estates that increasingly encircled British cities. However, the attentions of this research will be largely focused within the traditional confines of the city. The scale and nature of decantation – between 160,000 and 200,000 made the move to outer estates by the late 1960s in Liverpool alone – suggests that it is a topic worthy of study in its own right, although evidence from the outer estates will be introduced when relevant.[25]

Transport: Studies in Economic Change on Merseyside (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1983); S. Kidd, *Liverpool: Economy, Environment and Health* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992); C. Couch, *City of Change and Challenge: Urban Planning and Regeneration in Liverpool* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); R. Munck (ed.), *Reinventing the City: Liverpool in Comparative Perspective* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003); P. Batey, 'Merseyside' in P. Roberts, K. Thomas and G. Williams (eds), *Metropolitan Planning in Britain: A Comparative Study* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 97-111

[23] Social and cultural histories of postwar Liverpool do exist, but their remit seldom stretches beyond the 1960s. See T. Wailey, 'The Seamen's Strike: Liverpool 1966', *History Workshop Journal*, 5.1 (1978), pp. 111-122; P. Ayers, 'Work, Culture and Gender: The Making of Masculinities in Post-war Liverpool', *Labour History Review*, 69.2 (2004), pp. 153-167; S. Todd, 'Affluence, Class and Crown Street: Reinvestigating the Post-war Working Class', *Contemporary British History*, 22.4 (2008), pp. 501-518; L. Balderstone, G. Milne and R. Mulhearn, 'Memory and Place on the Liverpool Waterfront in the Mid-Twentieth Century', *Urban History*, 41.3 (2014), pp. 478-496

[24] J. Grindrod, *Concretopia: A Journey Around the Rebuilding of Postwar Britain* (Brecon: Old Street, 2013), p. 17. Population figure taken from Wilson and Womersley, *Change or Decay*, p. 1

[25] R. Meegan, 'Paradise Postponed: The Growth and Decline of Merseyside's Outer Estates' in P. Cooke (ed.), *Localities: The Changing Face of Urban Britain* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 200

The Postwar State, Urban Modernism and the Working Class

This is a study of the relationship between the state, the city and its citizens. The connections between working-class communities and the built form of urban renewal and decline reveals the often uneven relationship between state actors who sought to enact and regulate change, and communities who had seldom little input into changes that were largely enacted upon them. It should be noted that state actors are here taken as the broad, unwieldy and largely uncoordinated coalition of parties invested in urban affairs during this period. This includes national and local government bodies (such as executive agencies and councils), civil servants, social scientists, urban planners, architects and construction firms who were, to varying degrees of capacity, in the service of the state and able to exercise a degree of authority over the urban form. Retracing individual responses to these processes via the appropriation and use of urban space exposes the competing and conflictual conceptions as to precisely how the postwar city should look and what the postwar city should be.

Chapter One connects Liverpool's renewal and decline to a wider intellectual network of ideas and experiences, but it is worth noting at this point that certain state-sponsored urban assumptions and practices in the twentieth century transcended both nation and culture. The transnational nature of modernist urban renewal plans speaks to a wider history of postwar urban experience and drives at one of the core issues of this study: that state power in the postwar period was heavily invested in the ability to transform the material nature of cities, and that the conceptualisation and deployment of modernist urban planning and renewal represents one of the democratic state's most illiberal projects of the twentieth century. Indeed, in the American case, Christopher Klemek has suggested that alongside cultural, military and economic strength, state 'potency was taken to include the power to reorder the urban realm', a comment just as applicable in the British context.[26] A quick look at the figures involved demonstrates the scale of this experiment, with Stevenson estimating that over two and a half million people in Britain alone

[26] C. Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal: Postwar Urbanism from New York to Berlin* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 5

were relocated as a result of slum clearances between 1945 and 1968.[27] Whilst no international figures exist, it would be fair to assume that the numbers involved run into tens of millions. Retracing the diversity and multiplicity of experience that operated underneath and in response to these processes is therefore an essential historical task. Previously ignored and mundane cultures and practices can instead be repositioned as a form of resistance to exercises (or, at least, attempted exercises) in the function of power on behalf of the state.

Spurred on by the primitive conditions left over from the Victorian city and compelled by significant material damage sustained during the Second World War, governments across the West assumed the role of master rebuilder. The task was, however, not merely material. Being created were new political, social and cultural realities. These desires dated back at least to late-Victorian-era social researchers such as Charles Booth or Jacob Riis and garden city advocates like Ebenezer Howard, whose studies suggested that the dynamics of residential space could exacerbate the problems of poverty. Changing the environment of cities, they theorised, would make the poor healthy, strong, content and docile; Promethean overtones that were carried into postwar projects, which, Lynsey Hanley suggests, positioned architecture 'as a weapon of social reform' in the struggle to mould an environment that rectified the mistakes of the past.[28] For Peter Hall, a whole generation of architects became transfixed by Le Corbusier and his drastically modern visions, and were driven 'not merely by an alternative built form, but by an alternative society.'[29] Bearing many of the hallmarks of what James Scott termed "high modernism", urban renewal proposed the 'use of state power to bring about huge, utopian changes in people's work habits, living patterns, moral conduct and worldview.'[30] Combining social-scientific humanism and architectural modernism with a dogmatic belief in progress, growth and a rationally ordered society, the state embarked on an aggressive intervention to wipe clean the physical

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[27] J. Stevenson, 'The Jerusalem that Failed? The Rebuilding of Postwar Britain' in T. Gourvish and A. O'Day (eds), *Britain Since 1945* (London: Macmillan, 1991), p. 101

[28] Jerram, *Streetlife*, p. 322; L. Hanley, *Estates: An Intimate History* (London: Granta, 2012), pp. 84-85

[29] Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, p. 3

[30] J. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 5

manifestation of deprivation and reshape the nature of the city *and its citizens* in the supposed name of progress.[31] Delivered in a language of technocratic pragmatism, the aim was to shape lives and identities, and to reposition, know and order the citizen as much as the built environment.

Whilst the intention may have been largely benign – indeed, Scott suggests that the most tragic element is that, 'far from being cynical grabs for power and wealth', the actions of postwar planners 'were animated by a genuine desire to improve the human condition' – the actual implementation of urban renewal was both figuratively and materially aggressive.[32] As an act of symbolic violence, urban planning projected a conceptual order upon the city that ignored the essential features of any functioning social order. The desire to impose rationality through an intrusive programme of slum clearance and redevelopment took little account of the needs and wants of the individuals and communities that were being transformed wholesale. Gunn, for example, in studying Bradford's plans suggests that they were 'innocent of people's actual, complex relations to place, space, and time and to the way that these were used in practice.'[33] Nor did renewal take account of differences across the boundaries of race, gender, class, age or employment. According to Scott, "the plan", objectively produced by experts, required generic and standardised subjects who were:

> Uniform in their needs and even interchangeable. What is striking, of course, is that such subjects have, for the purposes of the planning exercise, no gender, no tastes, no history, no values, no opinions or original ideas, no traditions, and no distinctive personalities to contribute to the enterprise. They have none of the particular, situated,

[31] For example, Nasiali suggests that Marseilles' programme of postwar urbanism was about rethinking the relationship between the state and the citizen as much as the citizen and the urban environment, processes that produced and reinforced social hierarchies. M. Nasiali, 'Ordering the Disorderly Slum: "Standardizing" Quality of Life in Marseilles Tenements and Bidonvilles', *Urban History*, 38.6 (2012), pp. 1021-1035

[32] Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, p. 342

[33] Gunn, 'The Rise and Fall of British Urban Modernism', p. 859

> and contextual attributes that one would expect of any population and that we, as a matter of course, always attribute to elites.[34]

The class dynamics inherent within the planning exercise is therefore plain to see. The effects of slum clearance and renewal schemes were most keenly felt in working-class neighbourhoods, the wants and needs of whose populations were fundamentally misunderstood or dismissed. Instead, notions of middle-class respectability were projected onto working-class subjects. Simon Reynolds, in analysing a 1966 article by a team of American planners that provocatively whittled down the types of subject presented in development drawings to just six, suggests that these representations of the city 'contained assumptions about the 'good life'…white, prosperous, law-abiding, cultured and heterosexual.'[35] The new society being fashioned by urban renewal was clearly not to be populated by the working class as it currently existed. Instead, the sketches depict a population *improved*.

As well as flattening the idiosyncrasies of vast swathes of the urban community, the plans enacted a material violence upon the urban form through population dispersal. New York renewal tsar Robert Moses perhaps summarised this best when he commented that 'you can draw any picture you like on a clean slate…but when you operate in an overbuilt metropolis you have to hack your way with a meat ax.'[36] In this case, the ax was the new legislative powers fashioned by public authorities to impose renewal programmes. As the statutory foundation of physical planning in Britain since the Second World War, the Town and Country Planning Act 1947 and its subsequent amendments provided a comprehensive framework for controlling the nation's land use. Aimed at improving the physical environment by managing the spatial arrangements of activities, the Act essentially nationalised the individual owner's right to develop land via a system of planning permission overseen by an elected local planning authority. Described by Francis Amos as an attempt to

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[34] Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, p. 346

[35] 'Gentleman with briefcase', 'fashionable lady', 'mother and child', 'young lovers', 'voyeur' and 'flâneur'. S. Reynolds, ''Destroy all Humans!'' in I. Whyte (ed.), *Man-Made Future: Planning, Education and Design in Mid-Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 191

[36] R. Moses, *Public Works: A Dangerous Trade* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970) quoted in M. Gandy, *Concrete and Clay: Reworking Nature in New York City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), p. 138

'achieve throughout Britain a physical environment that would be efficient, healthy and pleasant', it shifted significant powers away from the private landowner and towards a state planning apparatus manifested through powerful local authorities.[37] The Act enshrined these authorities with the ability to allocate and declare vast tracts as Comprehensive Development Areas, to redevelop private land, to erase road networks and demolish existing buildings via a system of Compulsory Purchase Orders, as well as guarantee the loans required and coordinate the work of the many actors involved.[38] Whereas many citizens were amenable to these processes, the result was nevertheless that the redistributive powers of the state over its citizenry – via the ability to relocate people and business in the stated long-term interest – were greatly enhanced.

Ironically, similar processes of state intervention occurred as central government became more interested in managing a blindingly obvious decline than in creating a farfetched utopia. Abel-Smith and Townsend's 1965 publication, *The Poor and the Poorest*, drew attention to poverty's persistence within the supposed affluent society and sparked a series of institutionally-led initiatives that introduced the principle of positive discrimination for deprived areas, to which the inner city was naturally well represented.[39] The first of these was the 1967 Plowden Report, which, amongst other things, argued for higher funding allocations in deprived inner city schools and led to the establishment of Educational Priority Areas. This was soon followed by the Urban Programme in 1968, Neighbourhood Action Projects in 1969, Community Development Projects in 1970 and Inner Area Studies during the mid-1970s, all of which were variously focused on providing grants to local authorities and organisations for work in deprived areas that focused on improving social service provision, employment opportunity and environmental quality.

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[37] F. Amos, 'The Town and Country Planning Act 1947', *Planning Outlook*, 30.1 (1987), p. 13. See also J. Lubbock, '1947 and All That: Why Has the Act Lasted so Long?' in I. Whyte (ed.), *Man-Made Future: Planning, Education and Design in Mid-Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 1

[38] D. Gunby, 'The British Road to Post War Planning: The Forty-year Journey to the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act', *Planning Outlook*, 30.1 (1987), p. 11

[39] See M. Donnelly, *Sixties Britain: Culture, Society and Politics* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), pp. 131-138

Of course, these processes were never a one-way exercise of state power. The complex structure of local government meant that planning departments were seldom able to directly implement their wishes. Bereft of executive powers, plans were instead contested, diluted and obstructed as they passed through the variety of channels naturally associated with a pluralistic political system. Likewise, city planning itself often fell under the remit of several competing departments, leading Muchnick to suggest that authorities often 'lacked a central command post to formulate coordinated policies and to secure integrated executive action.'[40] Moreover, attempts to impose a rational order upon cities engendered a fierce backlash. The presence of elected bodies at a national and local level ensured checks and balances and, by the late 1960s, councils up and down the country were being judged at the ballot box for their actions regarding urban renewal. As well as the power of the popular vote, there existed a tradition of intellectually grounded critiques of the urban renewal agenda. Throughout the 1950s, modernist planning would be called into question from a mix of architectural circles (mainly the *Architectural Review*, the Townscape movement and individual architects such as Alison and Peter Smithson), critics and commentators (along the lines of Ian Nairn and John Betjeman) and from the relatively new academic field of sociology (via Peter Wilmott and Michael Young, among others).[41] Crucially, however, working-class communities would have been hard pressed to hear or see the effects of their criticisms, or, indeed, to have voiced their own opinions. The modernist planning agenda would remain largely unquestioned outside of professional circles until the late 1960s, a point at which considerable material change had already been enacted. In many regards, Jane Jacobs' 1961 publication, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, was pivotal, alongside

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[40] See D. Muchnick, *Urban Renewal in Liverpool: A Study of the Politics of Redevelopment* (London: Bell, 1970), pp. 14-20

[41] For an overview of these criticisms see L. Esher, *A Broken Wave: The Rebuilding of England, 1940-1980* (London: Allen Lane, 1981), pp. 72-88; Gold, *The Practice of Modernism*, pp. 212-215 and 271-276; Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal*, pp. 79-127. For specific examples of architectural criticisms, see A. Smithson and P. Smithson, 'An Urban Project' in T. Dannatt (ed.), *Architects' Year Book 5* (London: Elek, 1953), whereas the *Architectural Review* consistently provided a space for ideas at odds with functionalist urbanism, including Townscape. For sociological critiques, see Young and Wilmott, *Family and Kinship in East London*; Kerr, *Ship Street*; N. Power, *The Forgotten People: A Challenge to a Caring Community* (Evesham: Arthur James, 1965)

works by Christopher Alexander, Robert Venturi and Oscar Newman.[42] A novel brand of everyday urban microsociology, in part sparked by her clashes with planning behemoth Robert Moses over various Manhattan neighbourhoods, Jacobs' carefully observed critique celebrated the intricate and unconscious daily networks of familiarity and acquaintanceship and the voluntary controls and standards of a well ordered urban neighbourhood. Her argument, which in fact mirrored many of the professional critiques of the previous decade, chastised arrogant and community-hostile planners for inferring that functional social order naturally followed material order. Her calls for a gentler, more gradual approach to urban renewal alongside the successful mobilisation of an increasingly vocal grassroots opposition meant that, by the late 1960s, her arguments, alongside others, were filtering into popular discourse, community politics and, as Saumarez Smith demonstrates, the professional planning establishment itself.[43]

The subtle interplay between power and agency, between state intention and individual use and experience, in the postwar inner city therefore represents a key point of historical analysis in the study of the modern city. Indeed, this period represents a point at which control of the urban form became caught up in much broader political, economic, social and cultural processes. The potential to develop this analysis through the issues of space, place and agency is apparent, and will be elaborated upon in the following methodological sections.

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[42] J. Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (London: Pimlico, 2000). See also J. Jacobs, 'Downtown is for People' in W.H. Whyte Jr. (ed.), *The Exploding Metropolis* (New York: Doubleday, 1958), pp. 157-183; C. Alexander, 'A City is not a Tree', *Architectural Forum*, 122.1 (1965), pp. 58-62; R. Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art in association with the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts, 1966); O. Newman, *Defensible Space: People and Design in the Violent City* (London: Architectural Press, 1973)

[43] Saumarez Smith, 'The Inner City Crisis and the End of Urban Modernism', pp. 578-598. For example, see S. Mass, 'Commercial Heritage as Democratic Action: Historicizing the 'Save the Market' Campaigns in Bradford and Chesterfield, 1969-76', *Twentieth Century British History*, advance article, < https://academic-oup-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/tcbh/advance-article/doi/10.1093/tcbh/hwx061/4718006 > [accessed 08/12/2017]

Theoretical and Methodological Approaches

Spatial Perspectives

> I think it is somewhat arbitrary to try to disassociate the effective practice of freedom by people, the practice of social relations, and the spatial distributions in which they find themselves. If they are separated, they become impossible to understand. Each can only be understood through the other – Michel Foucault.[44]

The intimate focus on the city as a site of social and cultural practice reflects the influence of the spatial turn within the fields of history, human geography and cultural studies.[45] By announcing that the distribution of people cannot be disentangled from their social relations, Michel Foucault declared space and place to be intimately bound with the composition of social identities. Likewise, in *Postmodern Geographies* Edward Soja emphasised how historicist emphases on change over time had obscured the power of space; defined 'simultaneously as a social product (or outcome) and a shaping force (or medium) in social life…key to making practical, political and theoretical sense of the contemporary era.'[46] Both Foucault and Soja's assertions represent a succinct point of departure for the project. Individual and collective identities are formed in and around bounded places as well as abstract concepts such as public, private, belonging, territoriality and transgression.

An analysis of the spatial practices of inner city communities offers a novel picture of urban life in this period by shifting the focus from convoluted and imprecise theories and processes (such as modernism, planning, globalisation and deindustrialisation) to their social, cultural and material effects on lived experience. In this regard, Jerram suggests that spatial approaches can 'open up the particular and the peculiar, while offering tools to

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[44] M. Foucault, 'Space, Knowledge, and Power' in P. Rabinow (ed.), *The Foucault Reader: An Introduction to Foucault's Thought* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), p. 246. See also M. Foucault and J. Miskowiec, 'Of Other Spaces', *Diacritics*, 16.1 (1986), pp. 22-27

[45] For a succinct summary of the spatial turn in history, see Gunn, 'The Spatial Turn', pp. 1-14; B. Kumin and C. Usborne, 'At Home and in the Workplace: A Historical Introduction to the Spatial Turn', *History and Theory*, 52.3 (2013), pp. 305-318; R. Kingston, 'Mind Over Matter? History and the Spatial Turn', *Cultural and Social History*, 7.1 (2010), pp. 111-121

[46] E. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Theory* (London: Verso, 1989), pp. 7-61

link the particular to wider processes that tend to be analysed in taxonomic categories.'[47] Spatial approaches therefore capture the complexity of broader historical constellations and the simultaneity of different experiences within them. This is especially important for the Western inner city in second half of the twentieth century, a period in which global processes had decidedly dramatic local effects. Taking Doreen Massey's definition of place as the locus of power geometries, a porous network of social relations and a fluid and contested site within wider networks ranging from the body to the global, then it becomes evident that it is 'the global relationships as much as the internal relationships of an area will influence its character, its 'identity'.'[48] Felix Driver and Raphael Samuel took this as a blueprint from which to conduct micro-scale histories in an age of globalisation, proposing an approach which 'acknowledges that these places are not so much singular points as constellations, the product of all sorts of social relations which cut across particular locations in a multiplicity of ways.'[49] Adopting this philosophy allows analyses of relatively small geographic localities, such as Liverpool, to simultaneously tie wider global processes to local cultures and practices, whilst avoiding a descriptive and individualised portrait of place that amounts to a fetishisation of the local.

Of course, any excursion into the theoretical notions of space is potentially problematic. To illustrate the point, Henri Lefebvre suggested that conceptions of space 'range from the ill-defined to the undefined – and thence, for that matter, to the undefinable.'[50] The range of vocabulary under the spatial turn can be, at best, untidy and contradictory and, at worst, bewildering and used to conjure meaning and analysis out of nothing. Therefore, this project has clear theoretical moorings. In particular, it draws heavily, though not exclusively, from the works of Lefebvre, Foucault and de Certeau, though it rejects Jerram's calls for a tightly defined terminology.[51] The terms do, after all,

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[47] L. Jerram, 'Space: A Useless Category for Historical Analysis?', *History and Theory*, 52.3 (2013), p. 402

[48] D. Massey, 'Places and Their Pasts', *History Workshop Journal*, 39 (1995), pp. 183-186

[49] F. Driver and R. Samuel, 'Rethinking the Idea of Place', *History Workshop Journal*, 39 (1995), p. vi

[50] H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 7

[51] Jerram, 'Space: A Useless Category for Historical Analysis?', pp. 403-405. Also utilised are theorists like Yi-Fu Tuan, Judith Butler and Doreen Massey.

naturally undergo subtle fluctuations in meaning when used in differing contexts and to some extent rely on a level of intuitive understanding between author and reader. Applying strict definitions can, in fact, limit the clarity of analysis. The following section therefore explains how space and place will be conceptualised and applied throughout the text via an examination of its three most influential theorists.

In *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre convincingly articulated the idea that, far from Cartesian definitions as a taken-for-granted and static framework outside of human existence, space was inherently caught up in the production of social relations. It challenged the idea of space as a neutral void – a bare stage onto which the historical drama is acted – and instead suggested that space itself, always culturally situated and constructed, had a history of change and was conceptualised in diverse ways. To this end, Lefebvre proposed a trialectics of spatiality: spatial practices (the ways in which people generate, use and *perceive* space), representations of space (the maps and instrumental space of modernity that helps to *conceive* space) and spaces of representation (the modified spaces invested with symbolism and meaning in which people *live*).[52] Colonised by social activity and entwined with cultural practice, representations and imaginations, space is produced via the interaction between perceived, conceived and lived space; a physical, mental and social construct fundamental to everyday life and identity.

Within his trialectics Lefebvre was far from blind to the ways in which operations of power could fundamentally shape space. Indeed, his idea of conceived space – 'the representations which are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose' – bears similarity to the work of Foucault, who suggested that space is essential to any exercise of power.[53] Foucault's interest in the discourses of power and how human subjects and their characters, beliefs and conducts are produced and shaped by the social and institutional settings in which they find themselves demands a sustained alertness to questions of space and place. Indeed, much of Foucault's

[52] This is, in essence, Lefebvre's trialectics of 'perceived', 'conceived' and 'lived' space. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 33
[53] *Ibid*, p. 33 and Foucault, 'Space, Knowledge and Power', p. 252

thought centred on "the other" – the abnormal and undesirable mass of activities, people and places that necessitates policing, exclusion and even eradication. Foucault examined how these power relationships were materially actualised across the urban landscape via the physical divides and liminal areas imposed on society through, for example, the hospital, the asylum and the prison. Docile bodies, he suggested, 'may be subjected, used, transformed and improved...through a strict regimen of disciplinary acts.'[54] These acts – the multiple and intersecting assemblages of political, economic and social power – are relayed and transmitted through specific spatial fields, most memorably embodied in Foucault's examination of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon.[55]

Reacting to Foucault's idea of a disciplined space, Michel de Certeau stressed the agency of individuals facing the modernist strategies of panopticism. If Lynn Stewart has argued that in Foucault's anonymous regime of modern power, space is largely considered as an 'architectural code or grid for confining the human body', then de Certeau illustrates how the everyday tactics of the individual can actively undermine the powerful forces of modernity.[56] For de Certeau, 'beneath what one might call the "monotheistic" privilege that panoptic apparatuses have won for themselves, a "*polytheism*" *of scattered practices* survives.'[57] In actuality therefore, the 'everyday' differs greatly from the 'official' as the ideology of urban planning, in attempting to offer an account that satisfies the desire for knowledge and order, merely converts the city into a texturology that occludes a great many urban practices. Expressed most poetically in the essay *Walking in the City*, the example of the pedestrian positions the individual as a powerful and knowing subject. de Certeau highlights that beneath the panoptic discourses of the city there exists an innumerable mass of singularities, a proliferation of microbial tricks and fusions of power. These agentic and ambiguous practices, actualised through a

[54] M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin, 1991), p. 136
[55] *Ibid*, pp. 202-203
[56] Admittedly, for the purposes of the thesis, the distinction is somewhat artificial. Foucault's later ideas in *The History of Sexuality* would make room for agency on the part of the individual. L. Stewart, 'Bodies, Visions and Spatial Politics: A Review Essay on Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13 (1995), pp. 609-610
[57] M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), p. 48

series of individual spatial manoeuvres, evade and escape the disciplining of space and liberate areas and objects from their original semantic intentions. What follows is the 'transformation of *places* designed by hegemonic powers and envisioned as the neat and orderly realm of the concept city, into unruly *spaces*' fit for the purpose of everyday existence.[58]

The applicability of these theories to the study of the postwar city is clear, and rests on the fundamentally different conceptions of space held by *designers* (government, planners and architects) on the one hand, and *users* (communities and individuals) on the other. The *conceived* space of the inner city, realised through urban planning documents and comprehensive renewal programmes and which represented an attempt to shape the character and nature of the city to suit powerful interests, was altered and undermined by the spatial practices of its users. The result was a *lived* space that was considerably different in both nature and practice to what had been intended, to which each chapter proposes an example; be it religious, childhood, sporting or criminal productions of space. As a space of considerable unease, the inner city was subjected to a series of attempts at controlling and modifying its nature, via modernist urban planning, renewal programmes, government initiatives and policing, as well as specific legislation such as that regarding, for example, football stadiums. As a result, the space of the inner city appears as the locus of complex power geometries, defined in part by its focus on a group of "others" such as the hooligan or the delinquent, which are fundamental to determining the conduct of individual and the culture of the community. The project therefore traces the movement from intention into lived reality and asks how identity, culture and practice were constructed within and in relation to the flows of power within the urban space of an increasingly post-industrial Liverpool.

As well as being informed and driven by theoretical concerns, the project takes inspiration from noteworthy examples where the spatial turn has been adopted most enthusiastically. A key text amongst these is *Queer London*, in

[58] M. Crang, 'Michel de Certeau' in P. Hubbard and R. Kitchin (eds), *Key Thinkers on Space and Place* (London: Sage, 2011), p. 108

which Matt Houlbrook traces the mutually constitutive relations between various forms of homosexuality and the physical materiality of the city. This created divergent social, cultural and mental geographies of queerness, allowing Houlbrook to convincingly demonstrate that male homosexuality was 'shaped and sustained *by* the physical and cultural forms of modern urban life just as they in turn shaped that life.'[59] Likewise, in investigating the symbiotic relationship between larrikinism and the interstitial space of late-Victorian Melbourne, Simon Sleight introduces Judith Butler's theories of performativity to conclude that larrikins' behaviour is 'best regarded as a series of 'performances' in space.'[60] If identity is a performative accomplishment – constituted through a series of regulated, reiterative or ritual practices and acts – then, crucially, these acts of identification are organised through, implemented and given material and cultural weight *in space*. The idea of the city as providing a performative stage upon which to act out identities through everyday movements and styles has been fully adopted into this research.

If the above studies trace how social and cultural processes interact with urban space, then more consciously materialist perspectives will also be adopted to strike a balance between the city as a *physical structure* and as a site of *social practice*. For example, Jerram's *Streetlife* investigates the physical spaces of European cities and suggests that relatively trivial material changes had profound effects on the nature of culture in the twentieth century.[61] In Jerram's words, 'certain material dispositions can force, enable, delimit and prevent', meaning that 'materiality *acts* in its own right.'[62] Influential to Jerram, and indeed to this research, is Thomas Gieryn. Applying Actor-Network Theory to the study of buildings, Gieryn proposes that they are the object of human

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[59] Houlbrook, *Queer London*, p. 4. For similar approaches on the relations between people, place and gender, race and sexuality, see Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*; G. Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: BasicBooks, 1995); Long, *The Great Southern Babylon*

[60] S. Sleight, 'Interstitial Acts: Urban Space and the Larrikin Repertoire in Late-Victorian Melbourne', *Australian Historical Studies*, 40.2 (2009), p. 232. See also Sleight, *Young People and the Shaping of Public Space in Melbourne, 1870-1914*; J. Butler, 'Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory', *Theatre Journal*, 40. 4 (1988), pp. 519-531

[61] Jerram, *Streetlife*, pp. 173-246

[62] Jerram, 'Space: A Useless Category for Historical Analysis?', p. 414

agency *and* an agent in their own right.[63] The very materiality of the city therefore becomes a vital structuring force, with the power to stabilise social networks and give persistence to patterns of behaviour. As a site through which actors interact with one another and define their identities, buildings, as 'objects of (re)interpretation, narration and representation', also structure and constrain those very meanings, purposes and possibilities.[64] The materiality of Liverpool's built form is therefore central to the analysis.

Taking inspiration from these studies, this research builds upon and furthers certain aspects of a field in which considerable gaps remain. Firstly, the majority of cultural urban histories are largely restricted to the experience of modernity in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, investigating the commodification and rationalisation of space and the new set of experiences it engendered, alongside the powerful and disturbing sensations and identities it created. David Harvey, who examined how capitalism constructs new urban environments and the new modes of consciousness, social life and identity that follow, perhaps voiced this best.[65] Whilst these studies are certainly useful, they tell us little about urban experience in the latter half of the twentieth century, during which an increasingly globalised system of economic capital *deconstructed* urban environments.

Secondly, with ever more pervasive discourses regarding the flight of population and capital to "hub" locations across the globe, world cities demand more attention than ever. Academic study and critical theory has seemingly been caught within this orbit, providing a plethora of work focused on metropolitan centres like London, Paris and New York. Lacking are the histories of cultures from Liverpool, Glasgow, Detroit and other areas of sustained decline. Doreen Massey's influential vignette of Kilburn, North London, for example has been criticised by both McGuiness and Callard as presenting 'a very particular white Western construction of a world of difference.'[66] Massey arguably ignores large sections of the West *not* positively connected with the

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[63] T. Gieryn, 'What Buildings Do', *Theory and Society*, 31.1 (2002), p. 36
[64] *Ibid*, p. 35
[65] D. Harvey, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985)
[66] M. McGuinness, 'Geography Matters? Whiteness and Contemporary Geography', *Area*, 32.2 (2000), p. 228

flows of global capital, trade or migration, leaving open the question of whether 'particular spaces and places are valorised at the expense of others.'[67] Likewise, in privileging Los Angeles as a place at which postmodern geographies of production, consumption, exploitation and social control 'all seem to 'come together'', Soja struggles to speak to areas where it all seems to fall apart, to the delimiting and destructive aspects of global capital in deindustrialised areas of decline.[68] Nor are such complaints merely grumbles derived from a sense of nativist regionalism, or even to do with aspects of fair coverage, but stem from Driver and Samuel's conception of what localised histories should *do*: 'to de-centre orthodox histories, offering a view of the past radically different from the view in the centre.'[69] The issue, then, is one of perspective. History from the margins *looks* different to histories from the centre and, consequently, this thesis takes up Gunn's call to shift the focus of postwar studies away from London and the New Towns towards the life of the major industrial and port cities, such as Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow.[70]

Oral History

Wherever possible, it is the voices of the inner city that drive the narrative forward and help to shift the perspective onto the experiences and memories of those who lived through the city's extreme material and socioeconomic change. The advantages of oral history to a project seeking to extract the historical experience of being within the city and investigate the cultures and practices of a particular urban society are twofold. The first is related to one of the discipline's original intentions, what Lynn Abrams has described as the life history's reconstructive agenda – that is, to 'provide evidence about past events that could not be retrieved from conventional historical sources.'[71] As noted above, contemporary and subsequent studies of urban decline in the West, and Liverpool in particular, view the city as almost

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[67] F. Callard, 'Doreen Massey' in P. Hubbard and R. Kitchin (eds), *Key Thinkers on Space and Place* (London: Sage, 2011), p. 305
[68] Soja, *Postmodern Geographies*, p. 221
[69] Driver and Samuel, 'Rethinking the Idea of Place', p. v
[70] Gunn, 'The Rise and Fall of British Urban Modernism', p. 850
[71] L. Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), p. 5. See also P. Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 115

exclusively as a site of socioeconomic problems, a discourse that either stereotypes or completely bypasses the city's residents.

Secondly, as Luisa Passerini has rightly stated, the raw material of 'oral history consists not just in factual statements, but is pre-eminently an expression and representation of culture, and therefore includes not only literal narrations but also the dimensions of memory, ideology and subconscious desires.'[72] Interviews not only provide new evidence, but also highlight the experiential sensations engendered from being in place. By providing the substance of lived experience to the abstraction of wider historical processes, oral history allows for an investigation into how these processes interacted with everyday life in the context of urban decline.[73] Combined, the use of oral histories can therefore, as Linda Shopes has suggested, 'simultaneously deepen the enquiry and extend it outwards, helping us understand both the internal complexity of the community under study and its relationship to broader historical processes.'[74] It is hoped that the result is an inherently more diverse understanding of urban decline that illustrates the variation within historical experience. They highlight a fundamental and basic, yet oft-ignored point – that urban decline was experienced *differently* by *different* people.

Of course, a life story is not a realistic account of the original event but a creative reimagining for the present and, as Abrams has pointed out, 'no oral history represents a truth independent of dominant discursive constructions.'[75] On the contrary, Daniel James's studies have demonstrated that life stories – as consciously shaped narratives, revised and performed for the present moment – are cultural constructs that draw on dominant public discourses and social conventions.[76] Oral histories therefore need to be read in conjunction with the dominant cultural representations of the inner city. Time and time again the

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[72] L. Passerini, 'Work, Ideology and Consensus Under Italian Fascism', *History Workshop*, 8 (1979), p. 84

[73] S. Trower, 'Introduction" in S. Trower (ed.), *Place, Writing and Voice in Oral History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 14

[74] L. Shopes, 'Oral History and the Study of Communities: Problems, Paradoxes, and Possibilities', *Journal of American History*, 89.2 (2002), p. 597

[75] L. Abrams, '"There was Nobody like my Daddy': Fathers, the Family and the Marginalisation of Men in Modern Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, 78.2 (1999), p, 230

[76] D. James, *Doña Maria's Story: Life History, Memory and Political Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000)

stories told seemed well situated *within* the discursive construction of an inner city crisis and, in the case of older respondents, drew directly upon nostalgic interpretations of the traditional inner city. The problematic approach to the inner city highlighted in the previous section was seemingly replicated in the research sample as many interviewees presented what Raphael Samuel, Paul Thompson and Chris Waters described as an urban pastoral where, 'in the wake of comprehensive clearance and redevelopment, the slum, for so many years a byword for poverty and deprivation, is transfigured into a warm and homely place, a little commonwealth.'[77]

Moreover, in selecting a rags to riches narrative many interviewees to varying degrees of consciousness positioned the inner city as an important staging post in a story of endurance, hard graft and eventual betterment; as a key source of the morals that governed their lives and as a reverse image with which to negatively judge the present. Therefore, whilst most of the accounts are true – or, at least, true *as the narrator sees it* – it is necessary to be aware of the interview's narrative shaping and the silences and omissions within it as, according to Alessandro Portelli, the 'most precious information may lie in what the informants *hide*, and in the fact that they *do* hide it, rather than in what they tell.'[78] As such, these life histories are viewed, as Samuel and Thompson have suggested, as 'shaped accounts in which some incidents are dramatised, others contextualised', and yet others 'passed over in silence, through a process of narrative shaping in which both conscious and unconscious, myth and reality play significant parts.'[79]

However, in choosing to focus more explicitly on what followed the stereotypical slum, the interviews highlight how landscapes previously viewed as thoroughly dystopian and bereft of emotional investment were instead subject to a range of diverse responses. The stories told are the experiences of actual inner city communities instead of the conceptual or imagined

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[77] R. Samuel and P. Thompson, 'Introduction' in R. Samuel and P. Thompson (eds), *The Myths We Live By* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 9. See also Waters, 'Lowry and the Landscapes of Memory in Postwar Britain', pp. 121-150

[78] A. Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different' in R. Perks & A. Thompson (eds), *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 38

[79] Samuel and Thompson, 'Introduction', p. 5

communities presented through the discourses of urban planning documents or media representations. As Anna Green has rightly stated, oral history demonstrates the 'capacity of the conscious self to contest and critique cultural scripts or discourses' and, as suggested by Ben Jones, nostalgia for these areas should be 'understood as a critique of dominant stigmatising representations of these neighbourhoods and their inhabitants.'[80] The picture that emerges – of resilience, community and a fondness for place previously deemed unimaginable – provide a richer and multifaceted picture of the inner city that interrogates stereotyped representations of urban decay and endemic social problems. Capturing these memories is crucially important given that the landscape of modernist urban renewal has itself been largely confined to memory by successive waves of demolition since the late 1980s, all of which begs the question of whether these disappearing landscapes deserve more formal commemoration than they presently enjoy.

Marrying a spatial approach with oral history methodologies is a productive tactic. Space and place serve as crucial anchors for biographical development and, as such, are central to the construction of identities, histories and memories. It is, therefore, surprising that despite their apparent compatibility Mark Riley and David Harvey found 'relatively little overt cross-pollination between oral history and geography.'[81] Though offering unique insights into places, previous oral histories have tended to treat place in a superficial and under-theorised manner. Put simply, Andrew Thompson has suggested that their focus on the local 'has tended to neglect the national or global influences on local lives.'[82] Renewal and decline have been mapped out on vast, immaterial scales but missing from the picture is how these wider processes are experienced differently in specific localities and in mundane ways. Spatial approaches can therefore provide oral history with new

[80] A. Green, 'Individual Remembering and "Collective Memory": Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates', *Oral History*, 32.2 (2004), p. 42; B. Jones, 'The Uses of Nostalgia: Autobiography, Community Publishing and Working Class Neighbourhoods in Post-War England', *Social and Cultural History*, 7.3 (2010), p. 356

[81] M. Riley and D. Harvey, 'Talking Geography: On Oral History and the Practice of Geography', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 8.3 (2007), p. 345

[82] A. Thomson, 'Oral History and Community History in Britain: Personal and Critical Reflections on Twenty-Five Years of Continuity and Change', *Oral History*, 36.1 (2008), p. 99

perspectives on how place works as part of the wider structural forces that shape everyday life.[83] Oral history stands to benefit from the application of glocalised perspectives that acknowledge both the specificities of certain localities and cultures alongside the application of wider national and global processes.

It is the life history's ability to focus on the mundane that matches up so well to spatial approaches. In this respect, Pierre Nora's seminal concept of *lieux de mémoire* – a material or immaterial entity that represents a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of a community – casts a long shadow due to its overwhelming focus around explicit sites of memory such as memorials and museums.[84] Such an approach bypasses the geographies of the mundane and ignores the fact that people identify with sites that are not formal memorials but ordinary urban spaces that have not been deliberately constructed or adapted for their historic symbolism.[85] Few projects therefore deal with the city *in toto* as *lieux de mémoire*. Further still, few studies apply this perspective to the site of the post-industrial city, raising questions of how memory and meaning anchors onto specific sites in decline that are, firstly, often no longer materially present, and secondly, sparsely commemorated through material sites or wider popular culture and official memory.

The evidential base consists of interviews with thirty-eight individuals aged from their mid-forties to early-eighties who, at various stages in their lives, lived or worked in Liverpool's inner city between the mid-1960s and the mid-1980s. Interviews lasted anywhere between forty-five minutes and three-

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[83] For examples of studies that adopt specifically geographic approaches to oral history see G. Andrews, R. Kearns, P. Kontos and V. Wilson, ''Their Finest Hour': Older People, Oral Histories, and the Historical Geography of Social Life', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 7.2 (2006), pp. 153-177; T. Blokland, 'Bricks, Mortar, Memories: Neighbourhood and Networks in Collective Acts of Remembering', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 25.2 (2001), p. 269, p. 278; A. Mah, 'Memory, Uncertainty and Industrial Ruination: Walker Riverside, Newcastle upon Tyne', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34.2 (2010), pp. 398-413; B. Rogaly and B. Taylor, *Moving Histories of Class and Community: Identity, Place and Belonging in Contemporary England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Trower (ed.), *Place, Writing and Voice in Oral History*

[84] P. Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, 26 (1989), p. 9

[85] For examples of studies that highlight this, see S. Field, 'Imagining Communities: Memory, Loss, and Resilience in Post-Apartheid Cape Town' in P. Hamilton and L. Shopes (eds), *Oral History and Public Memories* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), pp. 107-124; Balderstone, Milne and Mulhearn, 'Memory and Place on the Liverpool Waterfront', pp. 478-496

and-a-quarter hours and averaged at an hour and forty minutes. Twenty-nine are directly referenced within the text, though all of the interviews have informed the content and analysis. The majority of interviews followed a nondirective life-history approach. It is also worth noting that the interview set has a noteworthy gender imbalance, with response rates for female interviewees being lower than that for men. Resultantly, male respondents outnumber their female counterparts by nearly two to one.[86] As will be explained in more detail below, social media was an essential tool for promoting the project (accounting for fifty-one per cent of interviews) and it is plausible to suggest that the online gender dynamic of an unknown male researcher requesting to meet up in person elicited more concern for women than it did for men. Moreover, that the project chose to speak to respondents in male-dominated spheres of employment (photography and police work) and experience (the football stadium) likely furthered this imbalance. Alternative sources have been brought in to address this disparity wherever possible and a focus on the specifically gendered aspects of certain inner city spaces will be emphasised at various points. Additionally, the research draws upon oral histories previously conducted elsewhere, referencing a further thirteen interviews directly – carried out by a combination of historians, sociologists and journalists – and aims to demonstrate the opportunities available to historians via the careful reuse of oral history data.[87]

The remaining forty-nine per cent of interviews were arranged through a combination of established contacts, snowballing techniques and reaching out to specific individuals. As such, design- and model-based sampling methods were rejected in favour of a purposive sampling approach that is, for the most

[86] Fourteen respondents were female. The remaining twenty-four were male.

[87] The thirteen interviews have been sourced from the *Liverpool Echo*; Everton Oral History Collection; L. Crolley and C. Long, 'Sitting Pretty? Women and Football in Liverpool' in J. Williams, S. Hopkins and C. Long (eds), *Passing Rhythms: Liverpool FC and the Transformation of Football* (Oxford: Berg, 2001); D. Hill, *Out of His Skin: The John Barnes Phenomenon* (London: Faber and Faber, 2001). Also utilised as oral sources are interviews conducted in J. McClure, *Spike Island: Portrait of a Police Division* (London: Macmillan, 1980); C. Ward, *The Child in the City* (London: The Architectural Press, 1978) although these are not included in the figures for extra interviews as interviewees are not explicitly named. For further discussion on reuse of oral histories, see J. Bornat, 'A Second Take: Revisiting Interviews with a Different Purpose', *Oral History*, 31.1 (2003) pp. 47-53; J. Bornat, P. Raghuram and L. Henry, 'Revisiting the Archives: A Case Study from the History of Geriatric Medicine', *Sociological Research Online*, 17.2 (2012), pp. 1-12

part, well suited to oral history. As Portelli has argued, even the most strenuous sampling methods can 'never guarantee against leaving out 'quality' informants whose testimony alone might be worth more than ten statistically selected ones.'[88] Likewise, sociologist John Law has suggested that statistical sampling methods construct the very social realities that they propose to study and struggle to accurately reflect the mess of everyday existence.[89] According to Robert Morris, these methods may 'push the historian towards a narrative dominated by groups and regularities and away from the particularly of person, place and event.'[90] Therefore, respondents were selected using the researcher's own good judgement and represent a healthy cross-section of ages, locations and experiences.

The oral histories appear in the text through the form of a second-level narrative based upon, but inherently different from, the original spoken word. Katherine Borland has succinctly summarised the issue of transcription in that '*we* identify chunks of artful talk…give them physical existence…and embed them in a new context.'[91] For Portelli, ignoring the performative orality of the interview – the rhythms, repetitions, hesitations, accents, facial expressions and body movements – amounts to flattening 'the emotional content of speech down to the presumed equanimity and objectivity of the written document.'[92] However, as Abrams has suggested, 'one should not equate obsessive *accuracy* with the ability of the transcript to convey the *meaning* of the speaker.'[93] Consequently, a balance has been struck between realism and readability and a pragmatic approach was adopted that allowed for a certain amount of editing without breaking the *semantic* link between the speaker's original words and those on the page. Therefore, dialogue has been fashioned into readable and grammatically ordered text, however dialect has, as far as possible, been preserved.

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[88] A. Portelli, 'The Peculiarities of Oral History', *History Workshop*, 12 (1981), p. 104
[89] J. Law, *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004)
[90] R. Morris, 'Document to Database and Spreadsheet' in S. Gunn and L. Faire (eds), *Research Methods for History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p. 143
[91] K. Borland, '"That's Not What I Said': Interpretative Conflict in Oral Narrative Research' in S. Berger Gluck and D. Patai (eds), *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 63
[92] Portelli, 'The Peculiarities of Oral History', p. 98
[93] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p. 13

Photography

The voices of the inner city are contextualised and situated alongside a variety of other source types, including photographic, archival and online sources. This project places photography – utilised as a way of knowing the condition of urban populations since the work of late-nineteenth century social reform campaigners such as Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine – as a central point of analysis. Documentary photography has a rich tradition in Britain and, according to Val Williams and Susan Bright, has captured 'everyday life and sought out the conundrums of a society caught in the crossfire between old and new.'[94] However, whereas admirable studies of *Picture Post*-era photographers such as Bert Hardy and Roger Mayne exist, few extend into the 1970s and 1980s or fully consider the particular context of their production during these decades.[95] This is in spite of the fact that Kieran Connell suggests that documentary photographers played an essential role in the 'coterie of spectators who were engaged in surveillance of Britain's inner-city streets.'[96] As a result, the works of several documentary photographers active in Liverpool between the late 1960s and early 1980s are used in this thesis. And whereas the photographs are limited to Liverpool, the similarity of the work produced nationally in this period hints towards a wider urban experience. Put simply, the social documentary photographers of this period – Chris Killip, Nick Hedges, Chris Steele-Perkins, Vanley Burke, Shirley Baker, Tish Murtha and Anita Corbin to name just a few – have left a rich and illustrative archive of urban life in 1970s and 1980s Britain. Consequently, what follows is an epistemic analysis of

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[94] V. Williams and S. Bright, *How We Are: Photographing Britain* (London: Tate Publishing, 2007), p. 110. See also T. Barson, D. Campany, L. Morris and M. Nash, *Making History: Art and Documentary in Britain from 1929 to Now* (London: Tate Publishing, 2006)

[95] See A. Blaikie, 'Photography, Childhood and Urban Poverty: Remembering 'the Forgotten Gorbals', *Visual Culture in Britain*, 7.2 (2006), pp. 47-68; S. Brooke, 'Revisiting Southam Street: Class, Generation, Gender, and Race in the Photography of Roger Mayne', *Journal of British Studies*, 53 (2014), pp. 453-496; B. Highmore, 'Playgrounds and Bombsites: Postwar Britain's Ruined Landscapes', *Cultural Politics*, 9.3 (2013), pp. 323-336. Recent study is, thankfully, pushing these boundaries further into the late 1960s. See K. Connell, 'Race, Prostitution and the New Left: The Postwar Inner City through Janet Mendelsohn's 'Social Eye'', *History Workshop Journal*, 83 (2017), pp. 301-340. Likewise, there is growing interest in these portraits of urban decline outside of the academy, with Liverpool's Walker Art Gallery, London's Photographer's Gallery and Newcastle's Laing Gallery recently hosting the work of Paul Trevor, Shirley Baker and Tish Murtha. Moreover, photo-zines like *Café Royal Books* regularly feature works from the 1970s onwards.

[96] Connell, 'Race, Prostitution and the New Left', p. 302

the photographic image in specific reference to British documentary photography as it developed in the 1970s.

As a combination of socially concerned photojournalism and artistic documentary photography, many of the images used echo the emotive and stylised techniques of previous documentary photography and should, therefore, be fully contextualised. Jonathan Tagg, for example, has cautioned that every photograph contains significant distortions 'which render its relation to any prior reality deeply problematic.'[97] If the photographer was eyewitness to urban decline, then that eye was neither innocent nor objective. Instead, the genre, both literally and metaphorically, represented a *point of view*. In a literal sense, the photographer consciously chose what to portray and what to ignore, often capturing subjects whose identity remained unknown and subsequently selecting the motif, lens, focus and colour according to their own agenda. That the images of inner city landscapes are overwhelmingly black-and-white is perhaps no accident, as Sarah Graham-Brown suggests that it can 'convey a harsh sense of "reality."'[98] The images themselves bear many of the hallmarks of suggestive framing, manipulative lighting and, whilst unconfirmed, many scenes would appear to be staged. Overwhelmingly focused on children, they encourage the viewer into particular interpretations and help to construct the very social realities that they seek to represent. Peter Burke's comment on slum photography – that it is 'generally designed to appeal to the sympathies of the viewers' – therefore undoubtedly rings true in this case.[99] Likewise, the author's role in isolating individual examples and situating them outside of their original context – that of a carefully considered collection of images that portrays its own narrative – alters and shifts their meaning further.

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[97] J. Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), p. 2

[98] S. Graham-Brown, *Palestinians and Their Society, 1880-1946: A Photographic Essay* (London: Quartet Books, 1980), p. 2, quoted in P. Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion, 2001), p. 22. For reference to the conscious choice of style and colour on behalf of the photographer, see Williams and Bright, *How We Are: Photographing Britain*, pp. 107-159. The use of colour in documentary photography would become fashionable once more in the early 1980s with the arrival of photographers like Martin Parr and Tom Wood. It is also worth noting that in reality the boundaries between the two were somewhat porous; Baker, for example, shot Manchester and Salford in both colour and monochrome. Likewise, decisions regarding format were also subject to economics, with black-and-white film being considerably cheaper.

[99] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, p. 22

The images' metaphorical point of view is somewhat more ambiguous and is indeed more reliant upon the viewer than the photographer. Much like Blaikie's conclusions regarding Hardy's late-1940s Glasgow street-scenes, the images utilised 'amount to a *contested epistemological space*.'[100] Ben Highmore has suggested that early postwar documentary photography and the ambivalent meanings attached to it became 'a central motif within the social imaginary of postwar reconstruction in Britain.' Untamed bomb damage and urban blight coalesced with contemporary anxieties to generate an image that disturbed the promise of unbounded postwar progress.[101] Crucially, as the era of reconstruction became that of decline the photograph would uphold this complex epistemological role. Depending on perspective, the genre can either represent a socially conservative and anxious narrative regarding national and moral decline, or a socially radical critique of the welfare state, capitalism and the relationship between the urban form and the working class. Irrespective of the political leanings of the photographer, that these images were simultaneously adopted for both narratives is significant. They became an essential way of *knowing* the inner city, its communities and its crisis. Moreover, as Connell has suggested, photographs like these can stand as testament to how readings of photography can be 'over-determined by a nostalgia for the supposed simplicity of a bygone age.'[102] As a potent carrier of memory, they are regularly conscripted into wistful and nostalgic interpretations of the past.

The images therefore utilise many of the manipulative tropes of documentary photography. However, the specific context of their production leaves them well placed to investigate urban change in modern Britain. In looking at populations who so often were the bearers (rather than the makers) of meaning, Stuart Hall suggested this genre offers alternative histories that highlight 'aspects of social life which are beyond or behind the headlines.'[103] Their use in exposing a variety of material and social geographies is clear. Often used as a mere backdrop, the landscape of urban decline frequently presents

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[100] Italics added by author. Blaikie, 'Photography, Childhood and Urban Poverty', pp. 48-49
[101] Highmore, 'Playgrounds and Bombsites', p. 332
[102] Connell, 'Race, Prostitution and the New Left', p. 334
[103] S. Hall, 'Preface' in P. Gilroy, *Black Britain: A Photographic History* (London: Saqi, 2007), p. 7

itself in these images as a taken-for-granted status quo. Therefore, if Burke has stressed photography's vital role in investigating the material cultures of the past, then the shots used often inadvertently document the nature and process of urban change.[104] Likewise, by candidly capturing the social spaces of the city and their unexpected transactions and encounters, the images bear witness to past practices often overlooked in other sources. Whilst Connell has moved to temper Hall's idea of new histories – the alternative perspective they offer is 'just as problematic as the dominant narratives presented on the front pages' – their merit undoubtedly lies in their coverage of underexplored aspects of inner city life.[105]

A closer look at the context of their production further strengthens this case. The decade was the point at which, as Ian Grosvenor and Natasha MacNab have pointed out, a 'network of relationships, institutions, collectives, agencies, spaces of practice, conversations and routeways of communication came into existence that was to transform the discursive field of British photography.'[106] Heavily influenced by the Arts for Everyone movement, documentary photography became driven by a desire to 'make visible in the present…the lives of those who traditionally stood outside of history', turning its focus to the supposed points of crisis and becoming, in Williams's words, 'increasingly politically conscious and socially engaged.'[107] Naturally, the inner city – as the most acute point of perceived social crisis and moral decay – was well documented as a radical politics of activism, community organisations and photography collectives (such as the Half Moon Photography Workshop and the Exit Photography Group) and publications (like *Camerawork*) utilised the medium for direct social and political action. This shifting focus was joined by new spaces and opportunities for photographic expression. As the decade in which the medium was finally recognised as an art form in its own right, the 1970s witnessed the establishment of the nation's first specific photography

[104] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, p. 25
[105] K. Connell, 'Photographing Handsworth: Photography, Meaning and Identity in a British Inner City', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 46.2 (2012), p. 152
[106] I. Grosvenor and N. MacNab, 'Photography as an Agent of Transformation: Education, Community, and Documentary Photography in Postwar Britain', *Paedagogica Historica*, 51.1 (2015), p. 118
[107] *Ibid*, p. 118 and Williams and Bright, *How We Are: Photographing Britain*, p. 137

galleries; a new landscape that provided an opportunity to work outside of the commercial and editorial pressures of photojournalism, portraiture, fashion and advertising.[108]

A newfound combination of social activism and creative freedom, alongside *en vogue* philosophical debates that questioned the Cartesian distinction between subject and object, led photographers to strive for social realism through the involvement of the artistic subject in the artistic process.[109] Many became embedded in the locality and consciously engaged with the local community. Reflecting on her late 1960s street-scenes of Manchester and Salford, Shirley Baker recalled that 'after a while, most people relaxed and seemed to forget that I was there at all.'[110] By the 1970s, this had gone a step further, with many practicing a form of participatory action research and living in the communities they photographed. Paul Trevor, a member of the Exit Photography Group, explains how moving to Everton for six months in the mid-1970s meant that:

> We built trust, formed relationships and created a comfort zone for everybody. The photography that we did meant that we could enter people's lives that might have been considered vulnerable. We wanted to demonstrate that we weren't taking advantage. We wanted trust, confidence and respect on both sides of the lens.[111]

John Stoddart and Dave Sinclair, both of whose images are used, elaborated further. For John, this was photography for the sake of documentary, whereas Dave emphasised how entrenched, even disguised, he felt within the landscape:

> I was just taking pictures of where I lived, basically, I felt that I was just continuing a document of it…there wasn't any staging, honestly. I couldn't believe it, it was all just laid out on a plate for me.

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[108] Photographer's Gallery (London, 1971), Impressions (Bradford, 1972), Side (Newcastle, 1977), Open Eye (Liverpool, 1977)
[109] L. Wells, 'Documentary and Photojournalism' in L. Wells (ed.), *The Photography Reader* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 253
[110] S. Baker, *Street Photographs: Manchester and Salford* (Newcastle: Bloodaxe Books, 1989), p. 18
[111] Interview with Paul Trevor, 30/09/2016, p. 3

> I never went out to take pictures of kids. They'd just pester you. "Hey mister, are you from the *Echo?* Take our picture!" They'd leave you alone after that and I'd get on with it. I don't remember being seen as threatening.[112]

The result is a body of work uniquely placed to investigate British urban life – a rich archive of the ordinary, and of the people, places and struggles of a period of great upheaval. They provide an acerbic counterpoint to the highly stylised and conceptual depictions of urban space presented in planning documentation that Larkham rightly cautions as manipulative, ambiguous and distorting.[113] In its place is an intimate diary of the changing city, of the sensations that urban space evokes and the social practices it sustains. Commenting on Baker's work, Griselda Pollock stressed that it 'captures neither type nor myth, avoiding both sentimentality and falsifying grit. Above all she discovers *ways of living*.'[114] A community-centred approach meant that whereas the photographs appear raw and challenging, their subjects are confident, curious, gallus. Therefore, regardless of the potential meanings imbued within the image – and they have now become intense carriers of nostalgia – their root in the reality of everyday cultures is clear. They act not to document the failure of urban renewal per se, but life that continued (and, perhaps, flourished) amidst that failure. In so doing, they provide a harsher, grittier look at the emotional politics of redevelopment and hold out the promise of resilience amongst destruction; a kind of lively resistance which, according to Williams, displayed populations 'kicking against adversity rather than submitting to it…with an energy and vitality that defies any notion of the abject.'[115]

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[112] Interview with John Stoddart, 16/09/2015, pp. 6-8; Interview with Dave Sinclair, 12/04/2016, pp. 8-9

[113] P. Larkham, 'Selling the Future City: Images of UK Postwar Reconstruction Plans' in I. Whyte (ed.), *Man-Made Future: Planning, Education and Design in Mid-Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 110-113

[114] Italics added by author. G. Pollock, 'Foreword' in S. Baker, *Women, Children; and Loitering Men* (London: The Photographer's Gallery, 2015), p. 7

[115] Williams and Bright, *How We Are: Photographing Britain*, p. 138. See also Exit Photography Group, *Survival Programmes in Britain's Inner Cities* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1982)

Social Media

A central component of many of the oral and visual sources used in this research is the emerging digital space of memory production. Indeed, the thesis could not ignore the significant ways in which public understandings, memories and experiences of the past are now constructed in and mediated through online settings. As of 2016, sixty per cent of the UK population had a Facebook account.[116] The traditional local history society is conducting an increasing portion of its activities through social media websites like Facebook, Twitter and Flickr. Of particular interest to this project was the Facebook local history group, *Liverpool Inacityliving*.

Inacityliving was formed on the blogging website Piczo in 2007 before becoming a closed Facebook group in late-2012. As its name suggests, it focuses on life in Liverpool's inner city. Members, who apply to join and are accepted by the group's administrators, are invited to post 'Liverpool related photo's [sic] and comments' and, as of mid-2017, it had 3,609 members comprising of everything from locals and expatriates to individuals who hold nothing more than passing interest in the city's history.[117] Behaviour on the group is governed by informal codes of conduct in which what is loosely termed 'banter' will be tolerated, but anything (or anyone) deemed off-topic, offensive or divisive is removed by the administrators. Members are also encouraged to search through the group's history for specific topics of interest via a keyword search tool, which extends to posts, usernames and comments. While smaller than several other Facebook local history groups, *Inacityliving* is also more active and focused, seeing anywhere between five and twenty posts a day, many of which draw further discussion through comments. Moreover, a core of between thirty and fifty members meet up in person on a semi-regular basis.

The mass of user-generated content that the group produces means that it playfully questions the traditional boundaries of the archive. It strengthens Flinn and Stevens' idea that by bringing often-marginalised publics and their

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[116] <http://avocadosocial.com/the-latest-uk-social-media-statistics-for-2016/> [accessed on 14/10/2017]
[117] Liverpool Inacityliving Homepage <https://www.facebook.com/groups/245881808818818/> [accessed on 01/06/2017]

records closer together, online resources can be a source of empowerment to communities by inviting members to reflect on material that would have been previously off-limits.[118] The administrators have scanned huge numbers of offline photographs from the Liverpool Record Office and organised them into albums based on postcode. From L1 to L25, this amounts to 6,822 images, with a further 4,790 shots on a variety of specific places and topics spread over 238 additional albums, with literally thousands more images scattered over individual posts.[119] The group, then, is an impressive digital archive and it will be acknowledged that many images were sourced from the group itself.

As well as amounting to a vast database of searchable visual material, a number of interviewees were tracked down and introduced to the project via *Inacityliving*. As Jackie Marsh and Julia Bishop suggest, the recent acceleration of older age groups using social media now means historians have ample opportunity to reach out to all ages for the purposes of research.[120] With the approval of the group's administrators, the author advertised for interviews on the group's wall and was invited to their next in-person meeting. Moreover, keyword searching opened the potential for finding specific types of interviewee, be they, for instance, police officers, Orange Lodge members or residents of a particular street. Although the previously mentioned online gender dynamic may have resulted in an imbalanced sample of interviewees, social media proved useful in reaching out to groups who do not traditionally gravitate towards research projects – namely, middle-aged working-class men, a point especially true outside of the class-dominated field of labour history. Taking inspiration from Abrams' study on the discourses of Scottish fatherhood, this research situates the working-class male in the oft-ignored non-labour context, providing them with a voice on a period in which they were habitually

[118] A. Flinn and M. Stevens, '"It is Noh Mistri, Wi Mekin Histri". Telling Our Own Story: Independent and Community Archives in the UK, Challenging and Subverting the Mainstream' in J. Bastian and B. Alexander (eds), *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory* (London: Facet, 2009), p. 20

[119] Figures accurate as of 01/06/2017

[120] J. Marsh and J. Bishop, 'Challenges in the Use of Social Networking Sites to Trace Potential Research Participants', *International Journal of Research and Method in Education*, 37.2 (2014), p. 113

stereotyped as lazy, criminal or unemployed and burdened with identities enforced and imposed by others.[121]

However, to see the group merely as a means to an end would be a misnomer. The fact it is a Facebook 'group' (as opposed to a 'page') is important. Whereas Facebook defines pages as the official profiles for commercial entities, groups are described as 'the place for people to share their common interests and express their opinion' and to 'come together around a common cause, issue or activity to organize, express objectives, discuss issues, post photos and share related content.'[122] A stream of user-generated posts creates a rich visual discourse and, by encouraging members to share critical and considered life histories and judgements on both the past and the present, *Inacityliving* represents an active site of memory. Indeed, Davalas et al. found that the presence of life histories and nostalgia on Facebook contradicts common assumptions that social media interactions are somehow transitory and superficial.[123] Likewise, in her studies on the photosharing website Flickr, Cristina Garduno Freeman found it to be a 'public space for both visual and textual conversations – complex social negotiations involving personal expression and collective identity.'[124] Interaction on the group can therefore be meaningful and, as such, *Inacityliving* represents a sort of social curation of the past from below, focused largely on the places of deep personal, if not historic, significance. In a community that has been physically dispersed twice over – once by urban renewal projects and again by urban decline – the digital space offers the opportunity to reconnect and remember as a collective in what Silberman and Purser liken to a sort of virtual kitchen table, backyard fence or

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[121] Abrams, 'Fathers, the Family and the Marginalisation of Men in Modern Scotland', pp. 219-242. For a wider discussion on masculinity, see J. Tosh, 'What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain', *History Workshop Journal*, 38 (1994), pp. 179-202

[122] Facebook Tips: What's the Difference between a Facebook Page and a Facebook Group? <https://www.facebook.com/notes/facebook/facebook-tips-whats-the-difference-between-a-facebook-page-and-group/324706977130/> [accessed on 01/06/2017]

[123] S. Davalos, A. Merchant, G. Rose, B. Lessley and A. Teredesai, '"The Good Old Days': An Examination of Nostalgia in Facebook Posts', *International Journal of Human-Computer Studies*, 83.1 (2015), p. 90

[124] C. Garduno Freeman, 'Photosharing on Flickr: Intangible Heritage and Emergent Publics', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16.4 (2010), p. 352

corner bar conversation.[125] What emerges is a richer and more nuanced portrayal of everyday life; more so than the current set of stereotyped images that govern popular memory of the inner city, and distinct at the local level from discourses espoused by the City Council and local tourist industry that seek to utilise certain narratives of the city's heritage for profit.[126]

Therefore, in facilitating the space and opportunity for a diasporic community and the individuals within it to reflect on the past and create an evolving image of their present selves, could the group not be what Raphael Samuel termed a theatre of memory or what Benedict Anderson called an imagined community?[127] The comments and discussions of *Inacityliving* are weaved into the narrative where relevant and, alongside Facebook, this research utilises the opportunities for reminiscence opened up by the Internet more generally. For example, while the digital medium is undoubtedly distinct from the interview setting (and should consequently be viewed as a separate entity from the oral history narrative), the ability of blogs to present detailed and considered personal memories has been utilised in this research.[128]

This is an approach not without its problems. Firstly, the democratic and universal nature of social media is easily overestimated. Silberman and Purser's claims that Facebook groups comprise of a 'community of active seekers, producers and preservers of cultural heritage information, not an essentialised

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[125] N. Silberman and M. Purser, 'Collective Memory as Affirmation: People-centred Cultural Heritage in a Digital Age' in E. Giaccardi (ed.), *Heritage and Social Media: Understanding Heritage in a Participatory Culture* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 26

[126] These narratives inevitably fall in and around Merseybeat. For example, see S. Cohen, 'More Than The Beatles: Popular Music, Tourism and Urban Regeneration' in S. Abram, D. Macleod and J. Waldren (eds), *Tourists and Tourism: Identifying People and Places* (Oxford: Berg, 1997), pp. 71-90; R. Kruse II, 'The Beatles as Place Makers: Narrated Landscapes in Liverpool, England', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 22 (2005), pp. 87-114; S. Cohen, *Decline, Renewal and the City in Popular Music: Beyond the Beatles* (Cornwall: Ashgate Publishing, 2007); B. Lashua & S. Cohen, 'Pubs in the Precinct: Music Making, Retail Developments and the Characterisation of Urban Space' in in M. Leonard & R. Strachan (eds), *The Beat Goes On: Liverpool, Popular Music and the Changing City* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), pp. 65-83; M. Brocken, *Other Voices: Hidden Histories of Liverpool's Popular Music Scenes, 1930s-1970s* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010)

[127] See R. Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 2012); B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006)

[128] For further discussion on blogging and the historian, see J. Cole, 'Blogging Current Affairs History', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 46.3 (2011), p. 659

and anonymous audience for pre-digested heritage' simplifies the issue.[129] The truth is that *Inacityliving* comprises of both, its group structure and hierarchical nature suggesting that a continuum of the invested and the disinterested exist simultaneously within the group. Only a small proportion of members, perhaps a few hundred, could be termed 'active' in that they regularly contribute to posts. As a result, they play a far greater role than others in shaping the particular narratives that emerge. They were, therefore, far more likely to be interviewed. Moreover, admittance to the group is reliant on internet access and the technical proficiency to navigate and contribute, to which issues of age and socioeconomic status exert an influence.

Secondly, many, including Henderson, Johnson and Auld, have discussed the ethical concerns related to consent, traceability and the loss of confidentiality in an increasingly networked and ultimately searchable dataverse.[130] The approach taken by Jenny Gregory in her study of a Facebook group relating to the lost buildings of Perth usefully asserts that whereas commentary published in the print media is regularly analysed by scholars without giving rise to ethical concerns, the boundaries between public and private on social media are somewhat more indistinct.[131] Therefore, any references to the group appear without usernames so as to maintain the individual's anonymity. Though they will have doubtless been aware of the public nature of their commentary, those users most likely did not foresee their data being used for research. A strategy of anonymity therefore acknowledges that users may not be aware of the way in which social media networks are structured.[132] By acknowledging these issues and building online data into the thesis, this project seeks to contribute to our understandings of using social media in the *process* (and not merely the *output*) of historical research.

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[129] Silberman and Purser, 'Collective Memory as Affirmation', p. 26

[130] M. Henderson, N. Johnson and G. Auld, 'Silences of Ethical Practice: Dilemmas for Researchers Using Social Media', *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 19.6 (2013), pp. 556-557

[131] J. Gregory, 'Connecting with the Past Through Social Media: The 'Beautiful Buildings and Cool Places Perth Has Lost' Facebook Group', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 21.1 (2015), p. 23

[132] Marsh and Bishop, 'Challenges in the Use of Social Networking Sites to Trace Potential Research Participants', p. 121

Archival Sources

Further to this, the project utilises a variety of more conventional textual documents, with both national and local archives consulted to highlight the interaction between the state, the community and the individual. Each can, to varying extent, be read against the grain in search of the urban experience. Whereas certain literatures are specific to certain chapters and will therefore be evaluated when relevant, a broad outline will be briefly given here. The proposed renewal and perceived crisis of the inner city led to the creation of vast archives. National government material such as the Department of the Environment-commissioned *Inner Area Studies* is used alongside local government outputs, including council and police records as well as planning documentation, to consider the pressures, concerns and proposed solutions to the inner city crisis and the effects each was having upon its communities. Materials from national and local media (the *Liverpool Echo*, *Liverpool Daily Post* and the *Guardian* as well as wider journalistic accounts such as James McClure's *Spike Island*) are drawn upon to similar effect.[133] Urban sociologies and area studies, such as Howard Parker's *View from the Boys*, inform the analysis further. Driven on notions of community participation and development as tools for challenging deprivation, they provide detailed accounts of inner city life based on hundreds of hours of first-hand research that explore the social effects of redevelopment and decline.

Just as Angela Davis has demonstrated how the social surveys of the 1950s 'were a product of the cultural beliefs of the time', the generation of these sources in their own way reflected and constructed a particular culture of social engineering and social reform, crucial to the ways in which the "inner city crisis" was conceptualised and understood.[134] Each in their own way applied moral-laden interpretations to inner city areas, strengthening certain assumptions about the urban poor by portraying their communities as a class apart. In the words of Peter Shapely, they treated both inner cities and their

[133] Perhaps due to its historic connections to the North West of England and its longstanding interest in social affairs, Liverpool crops up regularly as a case study for *Guardian* articles.
[134] A. Davis, 'A Critical Perspective on British Social Surveys and Community Studies and Their Accounts of Married Life c.1945-1970', *Cultural and Social History*, 6.1 (2009), p. 58

communities as 'anomalies that needed special investigation.'[135] Newspapers and their exposés, for example, represented one of the main channels through which a crisis of the inner city was constructed, packaged and presented for a wider national audience. As Adrian Bingham has suggested, they are an excellent method of 'exploring the representations and narratives that circulated throughout society…enabling both the detailed reading of debates about specific events and incidents, and the tracing of attitudes over periods of time.'[136] Likewise, Shapely demonstrates how faith in social science methodologies peaked between the mid-1960s and mid-1970s, leading to crossover between academic studies, community studies and government policy, which brought its own set of ideologies and stereotypes.[137] However, while Klemek has suggested that their in-depth investigations represented one of the foremost critiques of the modernist planning agenda, it is important to note how Mike Savage and Selina Todd's recent work demonstrates the ways in which postwar social science – obsessed with questions of community breakdown that filtered into public discourse through journals like *New Society* – influenced people's sense of identity and belonging and their attitudes towards place and locality.[138] Academics and social scientists were not innocent observers, but imported into their studies a range of preconceptions and self-identities.[139] This dissertation is therefore aware that using sociologies as historical sources requires them to be situated alongside the social contexts that produced them and that the sources are products of the very issues the thesis critiques. Whilst not without fault, they are useful sources when used in conjunction with others.

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[135] Shapely, *Deprivation, State Interventions and Urban Communities*, p. 2
[136] A. Bingham, 'Reading Newspapers: Cultural Histories of the Popular Press in Modern Britain', *History Compass*, 10.2 (2012), pp. 142-144
[137] See Shapely, *Deprivation, State Interventions and Urban Communities*, pp. 1-9
[138] Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal*, pp. 103-104
[139] See Todd, 'Affluence, Class and Crown Street', pp. 501-518; M. Savage, *Identities and Social Change in Britain since 1940: The Politics of Method* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Outline

In order to retrace the everyday life of the inner city during this period, this thesis focuses on four distinct yet intertwined themes – religion, sport, childhood and policing. Each is addressed in a separate chapter and each, in their own way, demonstrates that the inner city remained a lively and contested social space and a productive site of working-class culture and practice. Furthermore, each reveals the inner city as a point of conflict, a space of attempted control not just for the communities that lived there – themselves divergent across the boundaries of age, race, religion, gender and location – but for national and local governments, urban planners, architects and the police. The inner city was therefore a *contested* space, better identified as a series of territories and productions of space under constant negotiation than a single homogenous entity.

Chapter One presents an overview of Liverpool's postwar history with specific reference to the planning, renewal and decline of its inner city. In providing the context for the following chapters, it explains how city planners attempted to transform an out-dated urban form into a bright and modern city, and how lofty intentions failed to emerge as Liverpool was buffeted by a series of crises. Furthermore, this chapter ties Liverpool's postwar experience into a wider network of Western cities, linked to varying extents by intellectual, political, cultural or experiential similarities. Liverpool, so often portrayed as unique, was merely one of the most acute points of much broader global trends, exceptional only in scale.

Chapter Two challenges well-established secularisation narratives in postwar Britain by examining the influence of religion and sectarianism in inner city Liverpool. A religious framework of communal identity continued to define particular spaces at specific times. Orange Order parades allowed for a militaristic imprint of Protestant identity across the city, its controversial parade routes highlighting the still-contested nature of place identity. Meanwhile, Catholic equivalents were by and large defined by perceived restrictions and a lack of freedom. Finally, ephemeral graffiti territorialised the inner city with sectarian and religious codes and symbols, meaning that

Liverpool remained defined by religious geographies, with communal identities intricately tied to notions of space and place well into the early 1980s.

Chapter Three moves on to explore the impact of football in Liverpool's inner city. As significant, virtually year-round public events, the routines and rituals of the football calendar brought into focus wider fears regarding social breakdown and violence within inner city spaces. Chief amongst these was the football stadium, which, in an attempt to instil more respectable forms of behaviour upon spectators, became both a site of intense governmentality and territorial appropriation. However, increasingly fortified stadiums merely pushed disorderly activities onto surrounding streets, temporarily transforming inner city landscapes into battlegrounds. Running alongside violent appropriations of urban space, the stadium also remained a central site for the collective expression of white, masculine and working-class cultures; a point of cultural exchange and a site of nuanced social, cultural and spatial negotiation. In so doing, the stadium created topophilic notions of belonging and inclusion for some and topophobic notions of danger and exclusion for others.

Chapter Four investigates the relationship between childhood, youth and Liverpool's inner city, and how the material form of renewal and decline fostered distinctive cultures of play and delinquency. It traces city planners' ambitions to create a wholesome urban environment and their failure to deliver amid bureaucratic inefficiencies and an emerging backdrop of deindustrialisation and decline. Instead, as decaying inner city spaces were deemed increasingly worthless, youth stepped into the vacuum created by slum clearance and the ambiguous spaces of modernist urban renewal. Disregarding the official ways and boundaries of the adult city, following a distinct logic from that of planners and architects, youth laid claim to anonymous, interstitial and inconsequential urban spaces. Consequently, the visible profile of inner city youth became a source of considerable unease; the failed environment of urban renewal actively facilitated misbehaviour and fuelled anxieties surrounding social breakdown and crime, to which a metonymic relationship between youth delinquency and the inner city was established.

Building on the criminal perspectives established in the analysis of youth delinquency, Chapter Five examines policing in Liverpool's inner city, charting how policing practices adapted to renewal programmes, decline and the sense of inner city crisis. A variety of new techniques and technologies were trialled in an attempt to establish control over a changing urban environment – one that was seen to provide a suitable breeding ground for crime – signalling a fundamental shift away from consensus policing towards firmer, more intrusive public order responses. If changes to the inner city drove these developments, then they were, in turn, tried and tested on the working-class communities that resided in the seemingly lawless inner city. As such, local communities negotiated with, and at times resisted, the application of law and order in their neighbourhoods. The police officer's oft-unwelcome presence meant the inner city was viewed as a challenging and hostile working space, fears which were central to discourses regarding the breakdown of inner city law and order. These discourses were themselves a decisive factor in the drastic material changes occurring from the late 1970s onwards and which signalled the conclusive end of the modernist inner city experiment – the suburbanisation of the inner city.

Chapter One – Urban Planning and Urban Decline in Postwar Liverpool

With a modern history defined by drastic transformation, Liverpool offers the chance to examine urban change on a scale that is arguably unique in Western Europe. In presenting an overview of postwar urban planning, renewal and decline in the city, this chapter lays out the necessary context upon which the following chapters are built, illustrating how Liverpool's form developed from a tired, bomb-scarred and pockmarked relic to one transformed by the principles of urban modernism and, finally, by blight and decay. It does not wish to tell the wider history of postwar Liverpool, detailed histories of which exist elsewhere.[1] Likewise, whereas the city's significant interwar slum clearances will be touched upon when relevant, the analysis will here focus on postwar renewal programmes.

By demonstrating the intellectual, political and cultural similarities and connections between Liverpool and a broader network of Western cities, this chapter suggests that research specific to Liverpool is useful for understandings of wider postwar urban experiences. While planning, decline and everyday life functioned in varied local contexts, tracing the wider connections between postwar cities is a worthwhile exercise, as recent histories from Peter Hall and Christopher Klemek have demonstrated.[2] Consequently, Liverpool was far from exceptional. In renewal, Liverpool's ambition and experience bore similarity to cities across the country, and indeed internationally. In decline, the economic and political processes involved were global in scale, producing results in disparate areas that were similar in nature, if divergent in scale.

City of Change and Challenge

> Liverpool of the future will spring from the city of to-day, war-torn and depressing as it is. But, unlike the old, the new growth will be authoritatively controlled by a long-term planning policy – J. F. Smith.[3]

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[1] J. Murden, ''City of Change and Challenge': Liverpool since 1945' in J. Belchem (ed.), *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character & History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), pp. 393-485
[2] See Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*; Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal*
[3] J. Smith, *Liverpool: Past, Present, Future* (Liverpool: Northern Publishing, 1948), p. 68

As a fading regional centre, with a dilapidated urban fabric that suffered from problems of unemployment, sectarianism, housing shortages and environmental degradation, the Liverpool that emerged from the Second World War was crowded, squalid and out-dated. For example, in 1965 city planners suggested that 'what goes on in Liverpool today and therefore the bone and gristle of the city, the pattern of its roads and buildings, its railways and footways were decided in the days of the horse and cart, the steamships and during the heyday of cotton and coal.'[4] Liverpool also emerged battered and bruised from extensive wartime air raids which had destroyed 6,585 homes, damaged some 125,310 more and left the city's central and dockland areas mutilated.[5] Moreover, the war interrupted the city's efforts, begun in earnest as early as the 1870s, to tackle some of the worst housing conditions in England. With more slum dwellings than any other provincial city, only bold action was seen to suffice and wartime bomb damage appeared to provide the opportunity to tear down the slums to a degree that had previously only been dreamt of. John Frederick Smith's 1948 assertion, that an authoritative system of planning would provide the shape of Liverpool's future form, was therefore reflective of the optimistic mood within the city, and the trust placed in state planning apparatuses.

Redevelopment in postwar Liverpool was defined by two entwined policies that, building on concerted efforts during the interwar years, amounted to a radical respatialisation of the city's fabric. Firstly, massive slum clearance and comprehensive renewal programmes were earmarked for inner city districts characterised by Victorian terraces, courts and tenements that were, according to city planners, injurious to the health of inhabitants. Among the cited problems was a lack of ventilation and natural light, overcrowding, poor stability and sanitary conditions, dampness or a lack of basic amenities such as running water, cooking facilities and indoor toilets. Secondly, the well-established interwar tactic of population dispersal to outer estates continued

[4] City Centre Planning Group, *Liverpool City Centre Plan* (Liverpool: City Centre Planning Group, 1965), p. 53

[5] R. Bradbury, *Liverpool Builds, 1945-65: The Postwar Building Achievements of the City and County Borough of Liverpool* (Liverpool: Public Relations Office of the City of Liverpool, 1967), p. 19

apace, further boosted by the New Towns programme. In 1944 for example, *The Merseyside Plan* estimated that over 148,000 people were unable to be re-accomodated within the city's existing limits.[6] The result was the creation and expansion of a series of vast municipally owned housing estates at Croxteth, Kirkby, Halewood, Speke, Cantril Farm, Netherley and Huyton along the outer ring of the city. As Jon Murden has suggested, postwar Liverpool would, 'for the next thirty-five years, be engaged in an attempt to rebuild itself, transforming the physical environment as well as the character of the city in the process.'[7]

Despite high aspirations, immediate postwar development proved sluggish as the city struggled to muster the resources necessary to rebuild. Instead, the inner city's situation worsened as, in 1955, the Medical Officer of Health estimated there to be 88,000 unfit dwellings in the city. The pace of change gradually built from the mid-1950s onwards but despite the construction of seventy-nine blocks of multi-storey flats between 1954 and 1965, slum clearance, urban renewal and population dispersal was done in a piecemeal and uncoordinated fashion with development taking place wherever land was available.[8] Crucially, the intractability of the slum remained largely intact. In assessing the progress achieved by 1957, the *Echo* noted the unhurried pace and fragmented nature of renewal:

> Liverpool's terraced skyline, so familiar to travellers by sea, is gradually taking on new features. Already Everton Brow is crowned with a mammoth block of flats, the symbol of new Liverpool, and just below it, on the sweeping seaward slope, new twin blocks…are rising on a site that not so long ago was occupied by countless mean cottages of uniform drab brick separated by narrow ditches of streets.[9]

It was these *narrow ditches* of streets that evidently appeared to be clinging on when, one year later, the *Echo* commented on the *Liverpool of the Future* exhibition at the Walker Art Gallery. It claimed that the exhibition would be of particular interest to:

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[6] F. Thompson, *Merseyside Plan 1944* (London: HMSO, 1945), p. 17
[7] Murden, 'City of Change and Challenge', p. 393
[8] Bradbury, *Liverpool Builds, 1945-65*, p. 42
[9] *Liverpool Echo*, 24th September 1957 from Kynaston, *Modernity Britain: Opening the Box*, p. 81

> The residents of Liverpool's 375 darkest acres, those 39,000 people living in the forest of 90 to 130-years-old terraces of…Netherfield, Vauxhall, St. Domingo and Westminster...they will see what the future holds for the dreary, narrow streets and blackened houses which have been their familiars for too long.[10]

It would, however, be several years before Liverpool's darkest acres would see the light of day. It was not until the early 1960s that the Corporation began to approach renewal programmes in a more holistic fashion. In 1962 the city finally established a planning department and acted quickly to poach Walter Bor and Graeme Shankland, as City Planning Officer and City Engineer respectively, to work alongside the Director of Housing and Chief Architect, Ronald Bradbury. With large teams at their disposal, architect and town-planner Lionel Esher believed that 'two of the brightest stars in the high planning firmament of the sixties were in conjunction in Liverpool, and much was expected of them.'[11] The fruits of their labour became quickly apparent as, in 1964, the architectural critic Ian Nairn commented on the flurry of activity that gave the impression of a city 'wakened from a drugged sleep.'[12] The following year, Bor and Shankland unveiled the Liverpool City Centre Plan and the Interim Planning Policy Statement.[13] Crucially, both were a declaration of ambition and broad political consensus, ushering in a confident wave of urban renewal that approached the problem aggressively and with considerable civic energy, and that marks this project's starting point. The LCCP's bold visions for a future Liverpool – witnessed in Image 1.1 and which Saumarez Smith suggests used radical planning to engage with an idealised vision of a richly social and distinctly urban life – not only captured the imagination but also encapsulated the boisterous attitude to the herculean nature of the task ahead.[14] The city

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[10] *Liverpool Echo*, 14th November 1958 from Kynaston, *Modernity Britain: Opening the Box*, p. 286

[11] Esher, *A Broken Wave*, p. 229

[12] I. Nairn, 'Liverpool: World City' in O. Hatherley (ed.), *Nairn's Towns* (Honiton: Notting Hill Editions, 2013), p. 207

[13] Hereafter referred to as the LCCP and the IPPS. Evaluating city centre plans appears unusual given this study's focus on the inner city. However, the boundaries between the two were indistinct as blocks of pre- and interwar tenements and terraces skirted the city centre, meaning that 21,000 people still lived within the LCCP's confines.

[14] Saumarez Smith, 'Graeme Shankland', p. 403

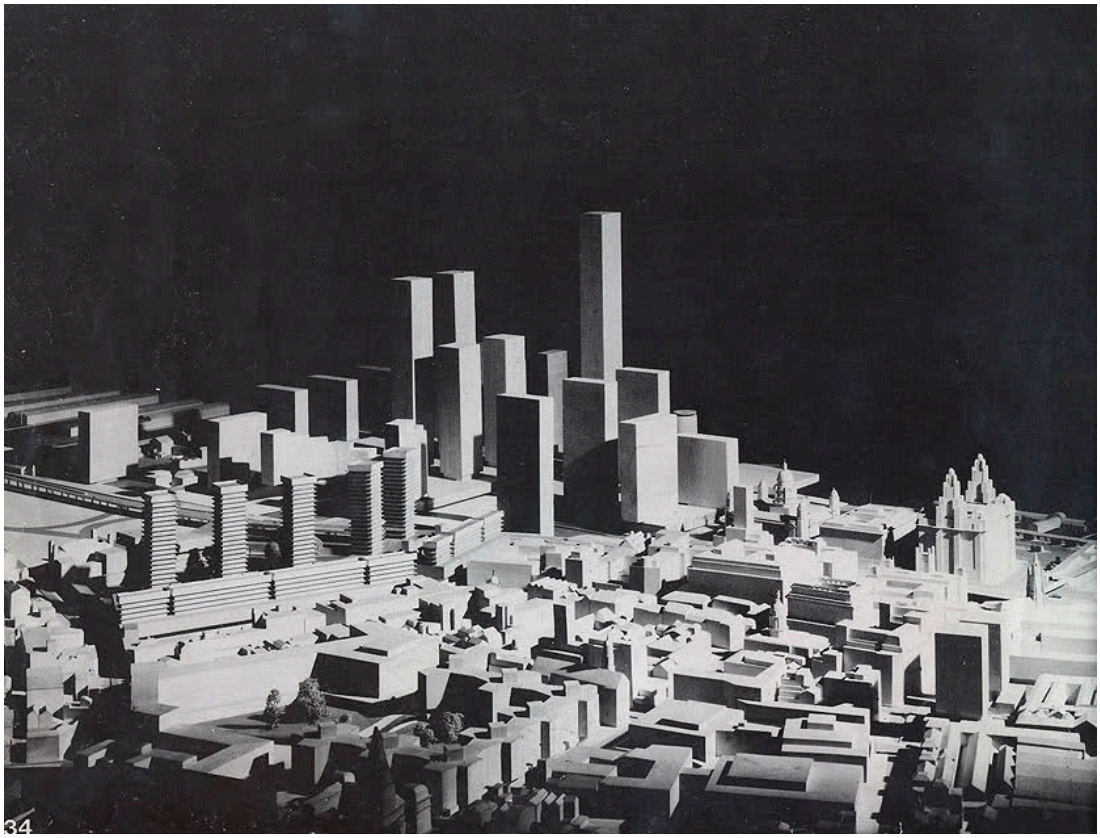

Image 1.1 – LCCP's bold visions for the future (1965)

would, it claimed, 'concentrate into a few decades the task of transforming a nineteenth-century fabric into a modern urban area that will suit the second half of the twentieth century and look forward into the twenty-first.'[15]

The IPPS and LCCP – alongside an independent 1965 National Building Agency report into the city's renewal programmes and the city's Housing Plan of 1966 – proposed drastic changes to the city's material urban form.[16] Both Gold and Saumarez Smith suggest that whereas 'allure of scale was a feature of much 1960s planning, the Liverpool plan's gigantism was nevertheless *outré*.'[17] With 78,000 dwellings, or roughly seventy per cent of the inner city, declared fit only for demolition, the IPPS proposed a policy of comprehensive redevelopment and rapid and systematic area-by-area clearances in order to

[15] City Centre Planning Group, *LCCP*, p. 53

[16] The reports recommended doubling the current rate of allocation of dwellings to slum clearance. *City's Housing Requirements: report of the Chief Officers and the National Building Agency upon the initial report of the agency; to be submitted to the city council, May 1966*, LRO 643 COU and *Report for Liverpool City Council on the city's housing requirements, December 1965*, LRO 643 NAT

[17] Saumarez Smith, 'Graeme Shankland', p. 406. See also Gold, *The Practice of Modernism*, p. 128

Image 1.2 – New environments for living in the IPPS (1965)

provide 'a completely new environment for living.'[18] Its idealistic designs are witnessed in Image 1.2. Likewise, the LCCP's urban motorway, its six lanes skirting a 500-acre area around the edge of the city centre, necessitated that everything in its way was demolished. Between 1966 and 1972, Liverpool aimed to clear 38,000 of the worst inner city dwellings and a further 27,000 by 1981. The corporation was egged on by central government, who, commenting in 1967 on Liverpool's remaining slums, described them as 'so squalid, so shameful and demoralising' that they might have been seeing 'a film of the worst abuses of an earlier century.' 'Common humanity', they suggested, 'demanded that the council purchase these houses.'[19] Liverpool answered the call, declaring eighty-eight clearance areas amounting roughly to one-third of the city's total area in a move that would reshape the city forever in the

[18] W. Bor, *Liverpool Interim Planning Policy Statement* (Liverpool: City of Liverpool Corporation, 1965), pp. 44-49
[19] *Slum clearance drive 1966-67: Liverpool CBC*. TNA HLG 118/415

process.[20] Over the following years, vast swathes of inner city districts like Abercromby, Everton, Toxteth and Vauxhall and the long-standing communities within them were swept away by slum clearance projects.

What replaced them was much like what Bradbury had promoted for the previous decade. In 1955, Minister for Housing Duncan Sandys simultaneously launched the Slum Clearance Act and established green belts around British cities in order to contain the spread of what Nairn had disparagingly baptised as subtopia in a special issue of the *Architectural Review* earlier that year.[21] The message, as read by cities like Liverpool, was to build dense and build high, described by Gold as:

> A whole-hearted implementation of very high-density high-rise development using slab blocks, without much use of the mixed development of houses, maisonettes, and flats…repeatedly defying accepted wisdom on the diminishing marginal returns on increasing the height of blocks, by adding more stories to those already authorised and ignoring land-use restrictions if found inconvenient…high output was achieved, but seldom had the design and deployment of tall buildings been treated so casually.[22]

A piecemeal, scattered-site programme (described by one housing official as a 'grasshopper' approach) led to a dramatic and often muddled cityscape, as seen from the view of Everton in Image 1.3.[23] The results, according to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government were chaotic, as 'new high flats and half demolished slums mingle' and 'make life difficult for the inhabitants of both.'[24] It led to constructions like Entwistle and St. George's Heights, Linosa Close and Logan Towers, all twenty-two stories high and completed in 1966. Logan Towers was the world's tallest block of prefabricated flats and demonstrated

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[20] Murden, 'City of Change and Challenge', p. 399
[21] I. Nairn, *Outrage…A Reprint of the June, 1955 Special Number of the Architectural Review* (London: Architectural Press, 1955)
[22] Gold, *The Practice of Modernism*, pp. 184-186. See also Muchnick, *Urban Renewal in Liverpool*, pp. 28-30
[23] Muchnick, *Urban Renewal in Liverpool*, p. 30
[24] *Slum clearance drive 1966-67*

Image 1.3 – Everton's dramatic and muddled skyline (mid-1960s)

the city's wholehearted embrace of the tower block. Or to constructions like Canterbury, Crosbie and Haigh Heights – a row of three fifteen-storey maisonette blocks built in Everton between 1965 and 1967 to join the newly completed fourteen-storey Cavour, Garribaldi and Mazzini House nearby. Indeed, by 1965, Bradbury reported that 110 tower blocks had been built or were being constructed as urban modernism exerted its full influence over the city.[25] The scale of change wrought is well depicted by Image 1.4, taken from St John's Beacon in 1981 and looking out to the tower blocks of Everton.

The mid-to-late 1960s was also the point at which dispersal programmes climaxed, with 56,000 new dwellings created on planned estates such as Cantril Farm, Huyton and Netherley, leading one commentator to note that the nearby 'rural idylls of hedges, broccoli and carrots disappeared underneath Liverpool's bricks and concrete.'[26] Consequently, many inner city districts, once teeming with the hustle and bustle that naturally accompanies a densely populated

[25] Esher, *A Broken Wave*, p. 227. However, whilst largely conforming to modernist assumptions about the city, in many regards the LCCP and IPPS were more complex. Far from advocating *tabula rasa*, they promoted the conservation of certain buildings, and for the car to be accommodated alongside a comprehensive public transport system. For further details, see Saumarez Smith, 'Graeme Shankland', pp. 393-422

[26] Meegan, 'Paradise Postponed', p. 202

Image 1.4 – The view of Everton from St John's Beacon (1981)

neighbourhood, became sparse and hollowed. This went hand-in-hand with the council's longstanding attempts to diversify the economy. Progress in the manufacturing sector reached a crescendo of optimism in the mid-1960s as – together with an influx of pharmaceutical companies, electrical engineering and food processing plants, and the preparations for a new, office-based economy – Ford, Vauxhall and Standard-Triumph created over 30,000 new jobs. For so long a centre of commerce, shipping and trade, Liverpool was industrialising.[27] Ominously, these developments prioritised the centre and periphery over the inner city, so much so that Richard Meegan suggests within just 'two decades Merseyside had been significantly restructured both sectorially and spatially.'[28]

As the 1960s became the 1970s, the heady optimism that had defined the decade finally began to buckle. The city's postwar recovery proved nothing more than a brief Indian summer, the haze of which momentarily obscured wider structural forces which had for several decades hinted at Liverpool's declining relevance within the national and global economy. If central and local

[27] Liverpool's status as an industrial city is contestable given its maritime history. However, attempts to rebalance the economy away from dock-related activities and towards manufacturing were established in the Liverpool Corporation Act of 1936, and from then on was a sustained and significant aspect of local (and national) economic policy. Therefore, its postwar experience of deindustrialisation can, in many regards, be likened to more traditionally industrial cities.

[28] Meegan, 'Paradise Postponed', p. 200

planning and renewal initiatives, taken under admirable traditions of civic confidence and improvement, had provided the framework for the new shape of the city, wider political and economic developments were to bear their own influence, dramatically exposing Liverpool to the forces of global economic restructuring.[29] The effects were cataclysmic. Geopolitical shifts towards Europe, a breakdown in colonial patterns of trade and technological developments such as containerisation rendered the majority of Liverpool's docks obsolete, the South Docks suffering complete closure in 1972. Carrying smaller crews and using mechanised systems of loading that minimised time in port, container ships substantially reduced labour demand that inner city populations had long filled, halving the total number of jobs on the docks from 11,500 in 1967 to just 5,200 by 1979.[30] By 1985, Liverpool was the nation's sixth largest port, having held second position just twenty years previously. Moreover, the port's decline produced a devastating ripple effect as a whole dockside economy of maintenance, equipment provision, hotels, cafes and bars disintegrated and once thriving dockside areas became ghost towns, their abandoned warehouses 'standing', according to the *Sunday Times*, 'like ornate wardrobes in a junk shop', or, as one academic described them, as the 'ghostly testament to the post-industrial zeitgeist.'[31]

International recession sparked by the 1973 oil crisis, economic rationalisation and an increasingly globalised economy hit Liverpool's manufacturing sector equally hard. In the postwar rush to diversify, Liverpool merely became a branch plant for large corporations, with less than one per cent of the city's firms providing nearly forty per cent of its total employment by 1979. Closely integrated into the global economy and with no particular commitment to Liverpool, whose workforce was steeped in the long traditions of casualism, employers often needed little excuse leaving their troublesome

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[29] S. Wilks-Heeg, 'From World City to Pariah City? Liverpool and the Global Economy, 1850-2000' in R. Munck (ed.), *Reinventing the City?: Liverpool in Comparative Perspective* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), p. 39

[30] M Lavalette and J. Kennedy, *Solidarity on the Waterfront: The Liverpool Lockout of 1995/96* (Birkenhead: Liver Press, 1996), p. 21

[31] I. Jack, 'The Best of Times, The Worst of Times', *Sunday Times*, 25th August 1985; P. Carmichael, *Central-Local Government Relations in the 1980s: Glasgow and Liverpool Compared* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1995), p. 129

and strike-happy Merseyside factories behind, cutting 95,000 jobs between 1971 and 1984. A bleak mood enveloped the city, with Paul Du Noyer suggesting that:

> Capital was becoming more global by the day. Footloose and fancy-free, it skipped capriciously from one continent to another. The view from the Mersey shore was that the money-tide was going out, and it was never coming in again.[32]

Severe economic decline also coincided with an ill-timed era of local political uncertainty that meant difficult decisions were ducked, long term planning was curtailed and spending was restricted at a time when massive levels of investment were necessary. Between 1974 and 1983, control of the council switched between minority Liberal administrations essentially held to ransom by Conservatives, and minority Labour administrations that refused to operate without a full majority. Stasis would remain the defining feature of local politics until the radical and controversial Militant Labour administrations of 1983 onwards, the actions of who would, in the form of the Urban Regeneration Strategy, signal the decisive end of Liverpool's modernist inner city experiment.

Wider political and economic factors interacted with previous planning decisions to produce devastating results to the physical environment, exposing the misguided and naïve optimism that had underpinned renewal programmes operating under the assumption of continuous demographic and economic growth. By the early 1970s it was apparent that both indices had been grossly overestimated; the city's economy was rapidly shrinking, and its population was in free-fall, losing over 245,000 residents between 1961 and 1981.[33] Whereas renewal plans never fully came to fruition – local government was unable to raise the necessary funds, whereas central government was unwilling to write blank cheques – in 1978 the *Architects' Journal* suggested that 'much

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[32] P. Du Noyer, *Liverpool – Wondrous Place: From the Cavern to the Coral* (London: Virgin Books, 2004), p. 176

[33] This figure includes certain decantation schemes. However, decantation devastated the city's tax base and its subsequent ability to invest in services and provision within the urban core. Moreover, it is noteworthy that Liverpool, unlike other British cities, was shedding population *as a metropolitan area*. Figure taken from GB Historical GIS/University of Portsmouth, Liverpool District through time | Population Statistics | Total Population, *A Vision of Britain Through Time* http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10105821/cube/TOT_POP [accessed 15/06/2017]

had come to pass in a reduced scale…though Liverpool's housing problems now almost defy the imagination.'[34] High-rise living had proved isolating and unpopular, with blocks suffering from poor design and maintenance, noise complaints, damp, structural faults, vermin and vandalism. Just as the *Echo* commented upon Everton's forest of dreary terraces in 1958, so Esher, upon visiting in 1980, was struck by Everton's 'forest of grim towers.'[35] During the city's nadir in the mid-1980s, the once confident yet now shabby tower blocks rose out of the urban form as a kind of bitter and ironic joke; giant and crumbling sarcophagi to Liverpool's modernist dreams, their lofty heights providing panoramic views only of the city's spectacular failure. The interwar tenements fared no better, a report of the late 1960s describing them as a series of 'dreadful barracks, surrounded by areas of crumbly asphalt, brickbats and broken glass' that will 'in the near future present a very serious problem.'[36] This, alongside dispersal schemes and the partial construction of the inner motorway, uprooted communities and demolished a series of popular local landmarks.

If city planners could boast in 1965 that central Liverpool was 'locked into its surroundings as tightly as the core to the flesh of an apple', then by 1980 a combination of local planning decisions and wider economic and demographic trends had loosened the urban fabric and left the apple thoroughly rotten.[37] Slum clearance, only fully jettisoned by the Liberals in 1974, often ran years in advance of rebuilding efforts and by the mid-1970s vast amounts of property had been cleared for plans that no longer existed.[38] Between 1961 and 1971, all four of the city's central wards recorded a forty-five per cent or more decrease in occupied housing.[39] As a result, Liverpool, much like the late-Victorian

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[34] 'Liverpool: New Life or Lingering Death for our Inner Cities?', *Architects' Journal*, 5th July 1978, p. 10. See also C. Booker, 'Urban Rides – 2', *Spectator*, 12th May 1978. Likewise, Saumarez Smith suggests that in light of funding issues relating to the LCCP, public-private partnerships instead delivered schemes in a gimcrack manner. See Saumarez Smith, 'Graeme Shankland', p. 416

[35] Esher, *A Broken Wave*, p. 222

[36] *Slum clearance drive 1966-1967*

[37] City Centre Planning Group, *LCCP*, p. 5

[38] See A. Stones, 'Stop Slum Clearance – Now', *Official Architecture and Planning*, 35 (1972); *Housing Finance Act 1972: draft of study of vacant land in Liverpool and comment*. TNA HLG 118/2201

[39] *City in Transition: A Review of Future Trends in Liverpool, 1961-1976 and Their Future Implications*, p. 10, LRO HQ3091.1 CIT

Melbourne described by Simon Sleight, was punctured by a series of interstitial spaces; open sores on the city's dying form.[40] However, if Sleight's Melbourne was growing into its overlarge frame, then Liverpool was rapidly shrinking within its own. With fifteen per cent of its total area declared either vacant or derelict, Murden describes how swathes of the city were transformed into 'rings of disparate, partially planned and spatially fragmented districts.'[41] What followed was an unnerving discourse regarding an abandoned and dying city. A 1985 *Sunday Times* dispatch described Liverpool as 'the claustrophobic prison-house of the English working-class', whereas the *Spectator's* travels around the city conjured up the bizarre spectacle of 'young skull-faced, sandy-haired girls who asked for 'business', a pathetic sight standing outside a fine Georgian house, opposite the great cathedral.'[42] As early as 1973, a Ministry for Housing and Local Government report began to consider the inner city's abandonment. Although it stressed that economic regeneration would be 'favourable', one option pondered 'the removal of most buildings and letting the inner area regenerate as a green belt area with the outer parts of Liverpool developing as a linear type town around it.'[43] By 1981, after witnessing the most serious postwar disturbances on the British mainland in Toxteth that summer, the city was the most deprived in Western Europe, shedding an estimated 12,000 people annually, with vast areas ruinous and whose very existence was, according to Williams, 'both rhetorically and actually in doubt.'[44]

A Post-Industrial City *Par Excellence*: Wider Urban Histories in the Twentieth Century

This study attempts to further our understandings of Liverpool during a particularly turbulent era. However, it also hopes to use the city to address wider strands within modern urban history, relevant to many British, and

[40] Sleight, 'Interstitial Acts', pp. 232-250
[41] Murden, 'City of Change and Challenge', p. 413
[42] Jack, 'The Best of Times, The Worst of Times'; R. Kerridge, 'City of Dreadful Flats', *Spectator*, 31st January 1981
[43] *Liverpool Urban Guidelines Study: inter-departmental comments on the report*. TNA HLG 141/214. The Home Office eventually backed away from the idea, stating that the results would be 'horrifying in terms of individual misery, social unrest and, eventually, cash', envisaging a community of 'the unskilled, the elderly, the disabled, one parent families and the socially inadequate – and the public sector employees to service them.' *Regional Policy Case Study of Inner City Violence in Merseyside, 1981*. TNA HO 287/2949
[44] Williams, *The Anxious City*, pp. 108-109

indeed Western, cities during this period. Much has been made of Liverpool's proverbial exceptionalism and the city is undoubtedly distinctive in terms of cultural image and identity, as well as some aspects of its socioeconomic structure. However, these ideas uncritically permeate many recent studies of the city. In a neoliberal environment that pits cities in competition, each vying to be *more* creative, *more* productive, *more* exciting than their neighbours, Liverpool, in fashioning regeneration from culture and tourism, has embraced an image that paints the city as radical and edgy, as open, tolerant and cosmopolitan, and that fails to fully take account of its complex and often contradictory identity. For example, John Belchem's introduction to *Merseypride* – an edited collection on Liverpool's exceptionalism – is boosterish and congratulatory, something continued into *Liverpool 800*, which, despite remaining the most exhaustive and academically rigorous piece of scholarship on the city, at times reads more like hagiography than history. So, while Belchem stresses that *Liverpool 800* places the city's recent renaissance in historical context, in many respects it places historical context precisely within the perspective of that renaissance.[45] Written off the back of successive landmarks during the mid-2000s (most notably Liverpool's 2005 Champions League triumph and the city's hosting of the 2008 European Capital of Culture), it appears to pre-emptively celebrate the city's economic restructuring. Therefore, just as Belchem illustrates the circumstance in which Muir's 1907 *History of Liverpool* was produced – designed to 'appreciate the remarkable progress and achievements of modern Liverpool' – Alice Mah suggests that there is a 'proud, nostalgic and bitter twinge to Belchem's account.'[46] These narratives deserve time and attention, though their conclusions now appear overbearing and out-dated. Moreover, where *Liverpool 800* manages to uphold academic rigour, a raft of works pander to simplistic stereotypes that amount to

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[45] See J. Belchem, 'Introduction: The New 'Livercool'' and 'Preface to the First Edition' in J. Belchem (ed.), *Merseypride: Essays in Liverpool Exceptionalism* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), pp. xi-xxxvi; J. Belchem, 'Acknowledgements' and 'Introduction: Celebrating Liverpool' in J. Belchem (ed.), *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), pp. 6-57. See also M. Murphy and D. Rees-Jones, *Writing Liverpool: Essays and Interviews* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007); J. Belchem and B. Biggs, *Liverpool: City of Radicals* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011)

[46] Belchem, 'Introduction', p. 9; A. Mah, *Port Cities and Global Legacies: Urban Identity, Waterfront Work and Radicalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 15

little more than exaggerated celebrations of local identity; at best nostalgic, at worst forgetful and manipulative.[47]

Indeed, Liverpool's postwar experience is far less unique than it would first appear. The city is in fact exemplary of many of the last half-century's wider economic trends that have fundamentally restructured previous urban hierarchies – a process in which there has been significant winners (London, Paris, Amsterdam, Frankfurt) and obvious losers (Liverpool, Detroit, Naples, Le Havre). As Stuart Wilks-Heeg has stated, 'if one city epitomises the consequences of economic decline arising from the reordering of urban economic functions, it is Liverpool.'[48] In this regard the city's decline is unique only in scale, standing as a first and worst exemplar. Liverpool may be an extreme case, but the effects of urban decline – deindustrialisation, economic restructuring, depopulation, unemployment, social fragmentation and political disenfranchisement – have been felt across many Western cities since the late 1960s.

By the early 1980s Liverpool had become *symbolically representative* of the post-industrial condition, with eerie, half-abandoned muddles of decaying tower blocks, leftover Victorian terraces and derelict interstitial spaces a familiar sight in cities across the country. Both academics and the media viewed Liverpool as an apocalyptic window onto the future of British cities. Esher, for example, suggested that:

> Liverpool by the mid-seventies provided the *locus classicus* of the collapse of the inner city: the loss of the go-ahead young; the subsequent shrinking of the tax base, yet no diminution in the number of underprivileged needing multiple support, of young children, of impoverished old; the loss of jobs within reach of the centre; and above all the failed, frightening environment…Liverpool is a microcosm of the state of England, and can never recover until England does.[49]

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[47] See J. Hinks, *ReBerth: Stories from Cities on the Edge* (Plymouth: Comma Press, 2008); S. Higginson and T. Wailey, *Edgy Cities* (Cheltenham: Northern Lights, 2006)
[48] Wilks-Heeg, 'From World City to Pariah City?', p. 36
[49] Esher, *A Broken Wave*, pp. 239-245. Similar opinions were held in government, with a 1985 Home Office report stressing that Liverpool's problems 'were not unique; the symptoms of

The *Daily Mirror* was somewhat less tactful, instead quipping that 'they should build a fence around Liverpool and charge admission. For sadly, it has become a 'showcase' of everything that has gone wrong in Britain's major cities.'[50] Worryingly, then, Liverpool seemed only one step ahead and, as concern for inner cities grew from the late 1960s onwards, it became a test bed for wider national policies. Educational Priority Areas, Community Development Projects, Inner Areas Studies, General Improvement Areas, Industrial and Commercial Improvement Areas, Housing Action Areas, Inner Area Partnerships, Development Corporations, housing co-operatives and Enterprise Zones were all trialled in Liverpool, the findings of which were subsequently applied nationally. As a result, Chris Couch has suggested that the city 'has been a laboratory for almost every experiment and innovation in modern urban policy and planning' and that findings from Liverpool can be widely applied elsewhere.[51]

The city's descent into post-industrial decline has also produced a set of narratives regarding urban renewal folly similar to others across the globe. Whilst these stories take on many of the problematic and nostalgic associations relating to post-industrial cities as previously explained, their remarkable likeness nevertheless demands attention. Nowhere is this better illustrated than Pruitt-Igoe – a St Louis development of thirty-three identical eleven-storey blocks, completed in 1956 and partially demolished live on television just seventeen years later – 'an instant symbol of all that was perceived to have gone wrong with urban renewal', according to Hall.[52] Pruitt-Igoe became the international byword for dysfunctional urban abyss, but similar narratives of poor design and location, substandard maintenance, ghettoization and notoriety for violence and vandalism emerge from projects across the West. Liverpool's "Piggeries", alongside Manchester's Hulme Crescents, Sheffield's Park Hill, Glasgow's Red Road, Marseilles' La Paternelle, Chicago's Cabrini-Green or "the Pinks" in Brooklyn, though geographically disparate, are

economic decline – the surplus unskilled labour and urban decay are being experienced elsewhere.' See *Briefing notes on inner city problems in the Merseyside area: Toxteth*. TNA HO 325/706

[50] *Daily Mirror*, 11th October 1982

[51] Couch, *City of Change and Challenge*, p. x, p. 3

[52] Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, pp. 254-255

connected by some degree of similarity in experience and memory. The fate of these areas – and of their residents, caught in a perfect storm of economic, political and demographic misfortune – remains bound up in the wider narrative of cities and decline in the mid-to-late twentieth century.[53] Put simply, tales told of Liverpool's "Piggeries" or the nearby Radcliffe Estate – of initial delight devolving into despair, of smart and modern apartments soiled by blocked rubbish chutes, broken lifts and roving gangs – *sound* extraordinarily similar to those of other renewal schemes across the globe; a similarity of stories that residents and cities tell *themselves* about their recent history.

As well as the archetypal nature of its decline, Liverpool's urban renewal programmes fit well within the national context. Firstly, the city's timeline of events maps neatly onto wider British models. Inertia in the immediate postwar years was replicated elsewhere due to a national scarcity of resources and a desire to return to normality following the war. Like Liverpool, initial redevelopment across Britain was slow, piecemeal and architecturally conservative where it did occur. Moreover, the city's frenetic burst of activity in the mid-1960s and its whole-hearted embrace of urban modernism was representative of a much more ambitious mood during which large-scale and forward-thinking projects became *à la mode* across Britain.[54]

Local councils, including Liverpool, had been encouraged to confidently reimagine their towns after the Ministry of Housing and Local Government published a report entitled *Town Centres, Approach to Renewal* in 1962. By 1965, the Ministry was flooded with over four hundred applications at various stages of preparation.[55] Civic pride and place promotion unquestionably egged cities into devising greater plans than their nearby rivals, but nearly all were shaped by the intellectually pervasive influence of modernist thought. As already discussed, planning and renewal documents conceived of themselves as rational and objective, and of time and space as abstract, homogenous and

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[53] *Guardian*, 22nd April 2015

[54] O. Saumarez Smith, 'Central Government and Town-Centre Redevelopment in Britain, 1959-1966', *The Historical Journal*, 58.1 (2015), p. 218. That a substantial number never came to fruition is largely beside the point. As Ortolano has stated, there is much to be learnt from cities that were never built. See Ortolano, 'Planning the Urban Future in 1960s Britain', p. 482

[55] Gunn, 'The Rise and Fall of British Urban Modernism', p. 852. See also Ortolano, 'Planning the Urban Future in 1960s Britain', p. 482

devoid of societal complexity.[56] The city was perceived in predominantly physical terms, partitioned into functional zones that separated land use and sought to utilise technology and innovation to create efficient, safe and healthy urban spaces with little concern for anything that obstructed the pursuit of these aims. Comprehensive slum clearance schemes would pave the way for a landscape of tower blocks and green open spaces, populated by Scott's generic and standardised citizens as witnessed in Images 1.5 and 1.6, taken from Liverpool's LCCP and Central Residential Area Action Plans. Likewise, nearly all were defined by the assumption of unending affluence in which leisure, culture and retail would usurp the predominance of labour, leading Guy Ortolano to comment on how planning's main challenge 'would be to manage not scarcity but plenty.'[57]

An essential component in the new age of plenty was the car. The national effects of Colin Buchanan's 1963 *Traffic in Towns* – which, unusually for a technical policy report, became an overnight bestseller – was evident. British cities were to be shaped by ring roads, car parks and systems of multilevel circulation to separate pedestrian and vehicle, to the point at which these features became, according to Esher, 'a common language amongst city planners and commercial developers.'[58] Many even perceived of road systems as architectural objects of significance in their own right, including the IPPS, which, as seen from Image 1.7, deliberately showcases stunning vistas of the passing city from behind the wheel of a futuristic vehicle atop the inner motorway. Indeed, the similarities between the plans of Liverpool and those in Newcastle, Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester, Bradford and Nottingham mean

[56] *Ibid*, pp. 851-858
[57] Ortolano, 'Planning the Urban Future in 1960s Britain', p. 493
[58] Esher, *A Broken Wave*, p. 52. See also S. Gunn, 'The Buchanan Report, Environment and the Problem of Traffic in 1960s Britain', *Twentieth Century British History*, 22.4 (2011), pp. 521-542

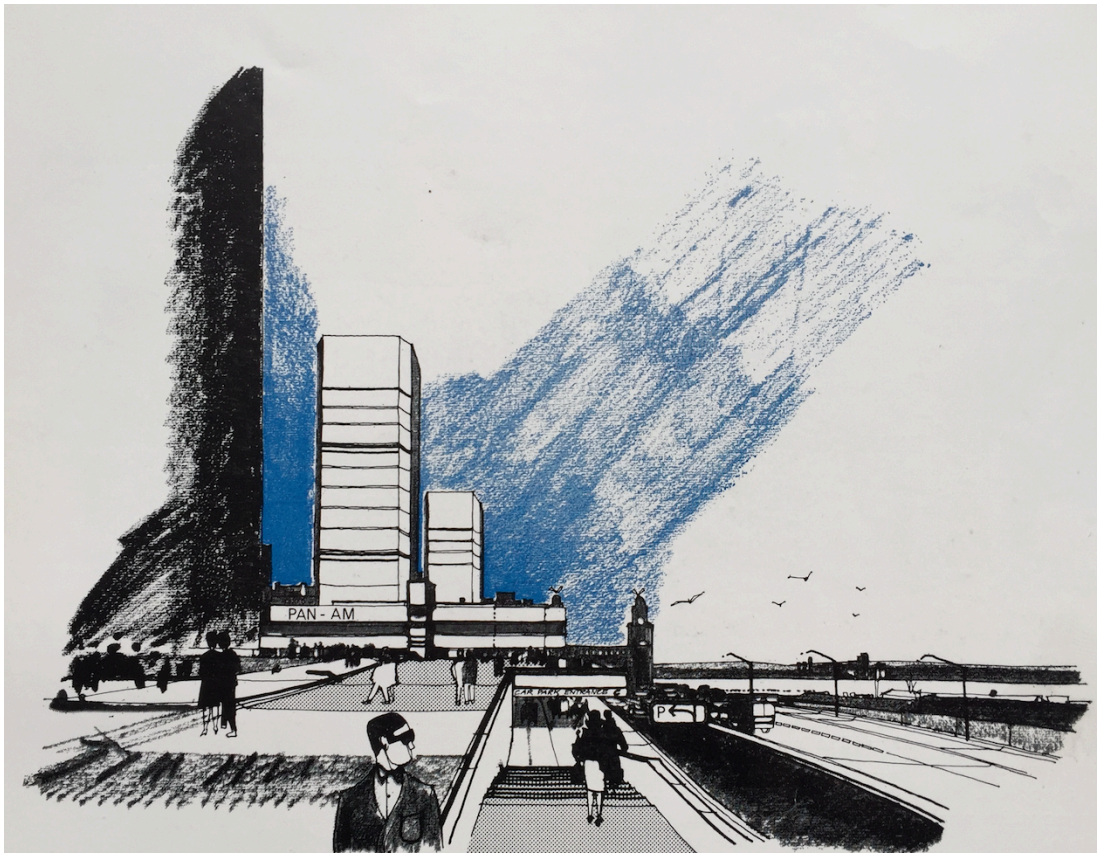

Image 1.5 – Tower blocks and open spaces of the LCCP (1965)

Image 1.6 – The tower blocks and green open spaces of the Central Residential Action Area Plans (1967)

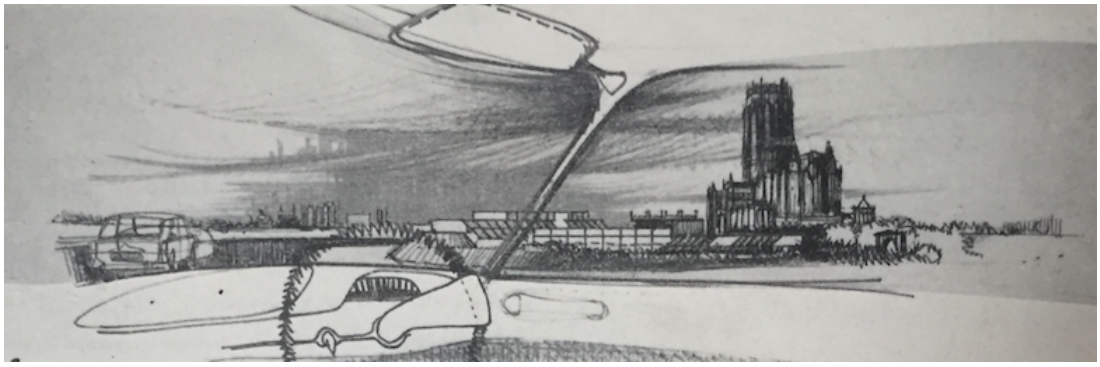

Image 1.7 – Vistas from the proposed inner city motorway (1965)

that Liverpool's renewal schemes, just like its experience of urban decline, should be viewed within a wider national context. Essential too is the ubiquity in results, as Jerram stresses that around 'nearly every large conurbation, the visitor will find a mile or two wide of near-total destruction of the Victorian city.'[59] Crucially, these plans need to be viewed as somewhat separate from those relating to the capital. Despite numerous similarities with the rest of the country, London was different in that its programmes amounted to an exciting architectural campaign to import the essence of the modern movement into Britain. For Hall, renewal in the rest of Britain was a much more prosaic affair, where 'architects counted for little against the massive accumulated strength of housing departments, and the aim was to get the maximum number of dwelling units in the minimum possible time', a point noted by Muchnick in his 1970 study into the politics of urban renewal in Liverpool.[60]

Not only does the city's tale chime with a national experience, but the plans also operated within an international framework of knowledge, ideas and exchange. While planning doubtless functioned in divergent political, social and legal environments, which in turn led to a discrepancy in outcomes, the movement of transnational intellectual influences through national political circumstances and various local contexts is a thread that links similar experiences in disparate cities across the West. It is testament to the fact that within certain (architectural, planning and government) circles particular ways of conceptualising the city were converging. Planning experiments across the world would capture the British imagination. Corbusian designs such as

[59] Jerram, *Streetlife*, p. 375
[60] Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, p. 243; Muchnick, *Urban Renewal in Liverpool*, pp. 26-43

Marseilles' Unité d'Habitation hung over many developments, the charismatic T. Dan Smith famously dubbed Newcastle the 'Brasilia of the North', and Colin Buchanan professed his admiration for West German pedestrianisation schemes.[61] *La Ville Radieuse* remained a pipedream but its intellectual influence was clearly growing, republished in 1964 and again in 1967. Despite the only partial realisation of his ideas, the impact of Le Corbusier was, according to Hall, 'almost incalculably great' as ideas, 'forged in the Parisian intelligentsia of the 1920s', would be applied to the planning and design of working-class housing in hundreds of cities during the 1950s and 1960s.[62]

The legislative frameworks for the realisation of these aims also began to converge across national boundaries during this period. Klemek asserts that state intervention into postwar cities operated in a transatlantic context as part of a 'shared vision of the urban future and shared means for realising those ends.'[63] He goes on to stress that by the end of the 1950s 'similar policy instruments and objectives were in place in Berlin, London, and Toronto, as well as Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, among many others.'[64] Whereas the specific detail, scope and function of state regulation, such as the Town and Country Planning Act 1947 and the US Housing Act of 1949, may have been somewhat divergent, it allowed for similar results in the form of wholesale slum clearances and redevelopment. Likewise, British urban planning documents became littered with Americanisms – 'urban renewal', 'neighbourhood' and even 'inner city' to name the most obvious. Tellingly, the Community Development Project, trialled in Liverpool in 1969 and soon rolled out across the country were in fact indistinguishable from American schemes launched under Lyndon Johnson's Model Cities Programme.[65]

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[61] S. Ward, 'What Did the Germans Ever Do for Us? A Century of British Learning About and Imagining Modern Town Planning', *Planning Perspectives*, 25.2 (2010), p. 129

[62] Le Corbusier, *The Radiant City: Elements of a Doctrine of Urbanism to be Used as the Basis for our Machine Age* (London: Faber, 1967), Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, p. 219

[63] Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal*, p. 5. See also Ortolano, 'Planning the Urban Future in 1960s Britain', p. 501; Jerram, *Streetlife*, p. 369. In studying the un-built North Bucks New Town, Ortolano stresses that the plans immediately entered a global economy of ideas about future cities, whereas Jerram suggests that many of the dominant features of postwar urban life were supranational.

[64] *Ibid*, pp. 5-6

[65] Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, p. 382

Liverpool played an active role in this network. Liverpool University's School of Architecture held an international reputation as a centre for excellence and could boast of staff and alumni along the lines of Patrick Abercrombie, Maxwell Fry and William Holford. In 1958 the city's Walker Art Gallery hosted an exhibition of Le Corbusier's work, including the grand master's architectural sketches, paintings, sculptures and tapestries. Moreover, the city's leading architect-planners sought inspiration from a wide range of influences. Though originally born on Merseyside, Graeme Shankland was educated at Cambridge and London, took early inspiration from trips to Sweden and Italy and, like Walter Bor (who had studied at Prague and Cambridge and was an influential member of the government-established Planning Advisory Group), learnt his trade at the London County Council.[66] In 1954, the city sent a deputation, including Ronald Bradbury, to New York to view the city's multi-storey housing projects, a trip that would later prove seminal in Bradbury's subsequent pursuit of high-density inner city housing.[67] Eight years later, a similar delegation of officials visited Paris to inspect Scandinavian system-building practices and, impressed by what they saw, quickly adopted the Camus technique throughout developments in the city.

One does not have to look far to find the impact of Corbusian high-modernism in Liverpool either. The city's planning documents – littered with throwaway assumptions about technical progress, economic growth and the wider social benefits that would emerge from a rationally ordered urban environment – tapped into the high-modernist rhetoric that inflected renewal programmes across the West. Of course, on-going social developments were undoubtedly driving the city's planning agenda forward, instilling a desire to alter the cityscape to suit lifestyle changes that were already occurring. For example, the IPPS was acutely aware of 'rapidly changing social behaviour and patterns in the city' leading to an increasing disparity between 'what people want, and what the city offers, in its housing, its range of activities and its total

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[66] Saumarez Smith, 'Graeme Shankland', p. 397; 'Walter Bor Dies at 83', *Architects' Journal*, 21st October 1999

[67] *Multi-storey housing in the USA: report of the City of Liverpool Housing Deputation, March 1954*, LRO H728.22 HOU

Image 1.8 – The chaotic and disordered Liverpool of the present (1965)

Image 1.9 – The idealistic Liverpool of the future (1965)

environment.'[68] Nevertheless, Liverpool's planning authorities were unquestionably aiming to shape new citizens as much as adapting the city to an already changing population. In summarising its arguments, the IPPS stated that:

> Environment both influences the personality of man and is itself moulded by his personality; thus, planning will be judged in the end by its success in creating an environment for *the maximum development, enrichment and expression of the whole human personality*.[69]

Likewise, in introducing two decades of achievements in rebuilding in 1967, Bradbury described the plans as, first and foremost, '*in pursuit of social betterment*.'[70] As seen in Images 1.8 and 1.9, depicting the chaotic and disordered Liverpool of the present and the idealistic and utopian future city, the multitude of illustrations that accompanied the city's plans, and, indeed, much postwar planning documentation, stressed the creation of new social realities as much as new material environments. As Larkham has suggested, these images were seldom purely architectural, but were instead layered and artistic texts whose production and consumption hinted towards novel and better futures.[71]

Moreover, the city's rejection of modernist solutions followed wider patterns seen elsewhere, including the development of grassroots approaches and protest *à la* Jane Jacobs. If the approach for the second Mersey Tunnel – supposedly situated in the working-class heartlands of Scotland Road because it would encounter less opposition there than in the leafier districts of Aigburth and Allerton – was waved through without significant protest in the mid-1960s, then a decade later that picture was much changed.[72] That the inner motorway was never fully completed was, in part, down to the tireless protests of the

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[68] Bor, *IPPS*, pp. 55-56. See also Muchnick, *Urban Renewal in Liverpool*, p. 36
[69] Italics added by author. *Ibid*, p. 109
[70] Italics added by author. Bradbury, *Liverpool Builds, 1945-65*, p. 13
[71] Larkham, 'Selling the Future City', pp. 115-116
[72] This claim was consistently made on *Liverpool Inacityliving* and repeated in K. Rogers, *Lost Tribe: The People's Memories* (Liverpool: Trinity Mirror Media, 2012). The decisive factor was that the River Mersey was much narrower to the north of the city centre than to the south, but the development of a local mythology regarding its placement based around class, community and locality suggests an awareness on the part of the city's working-class communities that urban modernism had fundamentally ignored their needs.

remaining communities, who, from the late 1960s onwards, were increasingly mobilised and vocal in their struggle against city planners and the council. Following examples set by the Shelter Neighbourhood Action Project, by the mid-1970s community councils had sprung up in seventeen areas of the city, including Vauxhall, Rice Lane, Kirkdale, Princes Park, Granby, Old Swan, Tuebrook, Garston, Breckfield, Toxteth and West Everton. Community newspapers like the *Scottie Press* were vital in publicising protests (such as the 'Homes not Roads' campaign) and informing residents of their basic rights, whereas the community councils were co-ordinated enough to publish a cohesive joint response to the publication of Liverpool's Inner Areas reports.[73] Their critique was stinging and demonstrated an active, informed and growing community politics that was witnessed in cities across Britain during the decade. 'Architects and planners', they suggested, 'seem to formulate designs which owe more to a personal desire to satisfy their sense of creative ingenuity than to the needs of the people for whom they are providing.'[74]

Liverpool therefore represents something of a litmus test. Its ambitious approach to renewal programmes not only resonated with provincial cities across Britain – who each, in their own way, attempted to utilise the tools of urban modernism to banish poverty and deprivation to fashion an environment suitable for the coming age of affluence – but plugged into transnational intellectual, political and cultural processes occurring across the West more generally. If the city was typical in its hopes, then so too it was in its despair. Whereas by the early 1980s it had become an international posterchild for urban decline, it was a decline exceptional only in scale. The reordering of urban hierarchies, driven by increasingly global and rationalised economic systems, would produce similar results elsewhere. Finally, that these patterns and processes drove comparable *experiences* is hinted at in the parallel stories that have come to define inner city areas and communities over the previous half-century. While the scope of this dissertation limits it to the evaluation of just one city, the social and cultural practices and experiences examined in the

[73] *Scottie Press* LRO 072 SCO and *In Our Liverpool Home: A Collective Response by Community Organisations to the Publication of the Inner Areas Study Summary Report* (Liverpool: Liverpool Council for Voluntary Service, 1977) LRO 309.2 COM
[74] *In Our Liverpool Home*, p. 5

following chapters therefore hope to spark a wider debate into an understudied area of postwar urban history.

Chapter Two – In God's Country: Religion and Sectarianism in the Inner City

Sectarianism and Secularisation amid Renewal and Decline

In the early 1980s, John Viggars found himself, like so many others in the city, a young man without work, passing the time by helping a friend on the job. John's was a story likely to be told by many of Liverpool's unemployed during this period, one of getting by and keeping the long days at bay. Posing as a sales rep for a brewery, it was when the pair ventured into the old religious heartlands of the inner city that John, hailing from Litherland, a dockland area to the north of the city, noticed something peculiar:

> He had a lot of bars and clubs down in Toxteth. It was quite amusing when he used to take me down to those places. I used to have to put a suit on and pretend I was one of Whitbread's employees. He'd say, "We're going in such and such a club tonight. You're Catholic." The next night, it'd be, "We're going in such and such a club tonight. Remember, you're Protestant." It didn't matter whether you were black or white. It was whether you were Protestant or Catholic.[1]

For John, negotiating the landscape pubs and clubs along the lines of an almost tribal sense of communal religious identity was a profoundly unusual experience. For residents, more accustomed to the neighbourhood's nuances, moving through this intricate micro-geography of friendly territories and no-go areas would have been second nature, so commonsensical to barely have been worthy of comment.

John's story contradicts the perceived wisdom regarding religion and the postwar city. As Northern Ireland descended into ethno-religious and political violence from the late 1960s onwards, the eyes of many commentators settled on the cities of Britain traditionally viewed as sectarian. During a Commons sitting in 1974, Norman Miscampbell, MP for Blackpool North, despaired that 'if there is fighting in Belfast, we can be sure that there will be fighting in Liverpool

[1] Interview with John Viggars, 12/10/2015, p. 10

and Glasgow too.'[2] In response, local MPs were quick to champion recent achievements, with Robert Parry, MP for Liverpool Scotland, retorting that integrative housing policies now meant that 'Orangeman and Catholic live next door to each other, work together and have a pint of beer together – unthinkable less than a quarter of a century ago.'[3] This story, common in ensuing popular and academic narratives, suggests that the postwar period was when Liverpool finally put its sectarian demons to rest.[4] Renewal projects bulldozed the old religious ghettos, increasing socioeconomic problems subsumed religious politics and local churches followed a successful policy of ecumenism, processes that occurred alongside institutional religion's seemingly terminal national decline and the rise of a secular society. What Callum Brown has termed the "death of Christian Britain" appeared to have coincided neatly with the death of the traditional city.[5]

In summarising the experience of postwar Liverpool's politico-religious culture, Grace Davie claims that it 'demonstrates dramatic change – rather than lingering survival.'[6] From an institutional perspective, this argument holds much weight – sectarian riots were non-existent, the Liverpool Protestant Party ceased to exist and Pope John Paul II famously prayed at both of the city's Cathedrals during his visit. However, the dramatic change of Parry's story and lingering survival of John's experiences need not be mutually exclusive, and an examination of religious practice within Liverpool's inner city communities suggests that the former has been overvalued at the expense of the latter. In certain areas Protestants and Catholics were not sharing a beer, evidence which

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[2] *Hansard*, 5th December 1974, vol. 822, col. 1973
[3] *Ibid*, col. 1983. See also *Hansard*, 1st August 1978, vol. 955, col. 353
[4] See Murden, 'City of Change and Challenge', p. 444; Belchem, 'Introduction', p. 47; K. Rogers, *The Lost Tribe of Everton and Scottie Road* (Liverpool, Trinity Media Mirror, 2010), pp. 126-136; P. Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism: A Political and Social History of Liverpool, 1868-1939* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1981), pp. 350-356; G. Davie, *Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing Without Belonging* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 103-105; D. Sheppard and D. Worlock, *A Time for Healing* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1988); M. Power, 'In Pursuit of the Common Good: Derek Worlock and David Sheppard, and the Ecumenical Response to the 1981 Toxteth Riots', *Crucible: The Christian Journal of Social Ethics* (July 2014), pp. 26-33; M. Power, 'Reconciling State and Society? The Practice of Common Good in the Partnership of Bishop David Sheppard and Archbishop Derek Worlock', *Journal of Religious History*, 40.4 (2016), pp. 545-564
[5] C. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000* (London: Routledge, 2001)
[6] Davie, *Believing Without Belonging*, p. 103

points towards alternative narratives from secularisation; narratives that actualised themselves through the physical, social and mental geographies of the city. Religious identities remained intricately tied to notions of space, place and territory, and utilising these geographies suggests that neither urban renewal nor decline banished the inner city's sectarian cultures.

A striking example of this can be found in the 1991 Walton by-election and to some of the more bemusing statements emanating from local politicians who were attempting to utilise religious imagery to claim political legitimacy. Labour councillor John Livingstone spoke of his local members as 'just good, Christian people who recognised that Trotsky's ideals run counter to Christian beliefs.'[7] Tony Mulhearn of Militant retorted that 'many good Catholics believe that Militant is translating into modern reality the teachings of Christ.'[8] In attempting to explain how discourse like this could emerge, ex-council leader John Hamilton suggested that 'what's happening today is not a new phenomenon. It has a whole history and roots…From the Catholics at the bottom of the hill to the Protestants at the top, you're in your communities and you don't mix.[9] Hamilton may have been exaggerating the extent of the split, but it is interesting to note that despite decades of redevelopment, depopulation and decline, Liverpool's religious divide – real or imagined – continued to be conceptualised through a territorial distinction in the landscape.

Investigating these religious productions of space allows for a sustained critique of secularisation narratives in postwar Britain and positions the inner city as a key battleground for these ideas and processes. Acknowledged by Davie as a problematic analytical framework, Garret et al. suggest that secularisation has become 'a teleological, deterministic and deceptively value-laden' master narrative; reliant on a series of reductive binaries (religious/secular, belief/unbelief, public/private, tradition/modernity), and made to fit with a variety of other declinist narratives in postwar Britain.[10] David Nash and Sarah Williams have suggested that, firstly, religion has been

[7] S. Baxter, 'God, Labour and Liverpool', *New Statesman & Society*, 28th June 1991
[8] *Ibid*
[9] *Ibid*
[10] Davie, *Believing Without Belonging*, p. 7; J. Garret, M. Grimley, A. Harris, W. Whyte and S. Williams, *Redefining Christian Britain: Post-1945 Perspectives* (London: SCM Press, 2007), p. 6

marginalised by social and cultural historians and, secondly, that obsessing over questions of decline – done through an examination of official rites of passage – has come 'at the cost of developing new avenues of enquiry.'[11] New interpretative approaches, embracing a variety of articulated cultural practices and a wider base of sources, could provide insight into the more elusive dimensions of religious culture. In short, Nash has called for less attention to be devoted to what publics believed and more to what individuals *did* with that belief.[12]

In awareness of the lived aspects of religion, two studies have been particularly influential in what follows. In *Believing Without Belonging*, Davie suggests that religious variables concerned with emotions, experience and superstition demonstrate considerable persistence. For Davie, 'if the institutional link has been weakened at every stage, the sacred has, undoubtedly, found other outlets'; outlets which this chapter will investigate.[13] Brown likewise questions previous institutional and quantitative approaches, suggesting that, in privileging formal religious practice, they have 'obliterated whole realms of religiosity that cannot be counted.'[14] Crucially, *The Death of Christian Britain* forwards a theory of "discursive Christianity"; a series of official or unofficial 'protocols of personal identity which derive from Christian expectations or discourses – rituals, customs, behaviours, dress and speech', reflexively adopted by both the individual and the community in public or private settings.[15] Whilst informed by the theoretical ideas of Brown's work, this chapter questions its conclusion that discursive Christianities remained intact only until the 1960s. Within certain inner city communities there is evidence to apply Brown's ideas long after his arbitrary cut-off point of 1963.[16]

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[11] See D. Nash, 'Reconnecting Religion with Social and Cultural History: Secularization's Failure as a Master Narrative', *Social and Cultural History*, 1.3 (2004), p. 307; S. Williams, *Religious Beliefs and Popular Culture in Southwark, c.1880-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 4

[12] *Ibid*, p. 307

[13] Davie, *Believing Without Belonging*, p. 43

[14] Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, p. 12

[15] *Ibid*, p. 12

[16] See Garret et al, *Redefining Christian Britain*; C. Field, 'Secularising Selfhood: What can polling data on the personal saliency of religion tell us about the scale and chronology of secularisation in modern Britain?', *Journal of Beliefs and Values*, 36.3 (2015), pp. 308-330

The death of (a discursive) Christian Britain was not, therefore, as rapid or as widespread as Brown would suggest.

Religion as a lived experience is inherently intertwined with and affective of the setting in which it occurs; not a transhistorical phenomenon but specific to time and place, spatially manifest in both structure and practice.[17] Formal and informal religious practice must occupy a certain space (*take place*), and in so doing make that location meaningful (*make place*). Within a background of institutional decline, these practices were increasingly situated away from the church. Instead, the street, tenement and tower block became adopted as symbols of religious identity. Yet, as Lily Kong has argued, conceptual and theoretical attention to geographies of religion have lagged behind concurrent studies of gender, race or class.[18] Much like Charlotte Wildman's recent work on Whit processions in interwar Manchester, this chapter reveals the meanings attached to the postwar inner city by examining a series of urban religious practices and how place identity and access to public space remained intertwined with politico-religious affiliation.[19]

The continuation of certain lived experiences demonstrates how religion remained embedded as an inherent part of Liverpool's urban culture. Section I investigates the nature of public processions within the city. Orange Lodge marches visibly displayed ardent Protestantisms and its parade routes highlighted the contested nature of certain place identities. Conversely, the perceived restrictions placed upon Catholic parades created the impression of differing levels of access to public space, although the opening of the Metropolitan Cathedral and the visit of Pope John Paul II stand as momentous dates in the city's Catholic history; days that raised issues over the increasing inappropriateness of publicly displaying sectarian attitudes. Section II is concerned with how graffiti was mobilised as a method of exhibiting religious and sectarian discourse, codes and symbols. It mapped discursive territories

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[17] L. O'Dowd and M. McKnight, 'Urban Intersections: Religion and Violence in Belfast', *Space and Polity*, 17.3 (2013), p. 359

[18] L. Kong, 'Religious Landscapes' in J. Duncan, N. Johnson and R. Schein (eds), *A Companion to Cultural Geography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), p. 365

[19] C. Wildman, 'Religious Selfhoods and the City in Inter-War Manchester', *Urban History*, 38.1 (2011), p. 104. See also C. Wildman, *Urban Redevelopment and Modernity in Liverpool and Manchester, 1918-1939* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), pp. 143-166

and unambiguous denominational geographies across the city and made claims to the possession of the landscape of redevelopment. As a result, religion remained deeply implicated in the physical environment of inner city Liverpool, as a frame of reference with which to view the landscape and a motivating factor in the everyday practices and processes that occurred there.

As a point of departure, it is worth noting four details: that city planners largely disregarded religion; this chapter's focus remains on Anglicanism and Catholicism; the Liverpool Protestant Party remained influential; and the extent to which these processes were connected to actual religious belief is entirely questionable. Firstly, churches never captured the attention of city planners and, as such, the focus on planning documentation witnessed in subsequent chapters is largely absent here. The 1965 LCCP placed 'Church Activities' a lowly sixteenth on the agenda regarding the city's current structure (tellingly, the section was dropped in the proposals for the future city), whereas the IPPS subsumed churches under the generic heading of Community Facilities.[20] Religion, it could be said, was being written out of the urban fabric. This radio silence was finally addressed two years later when the City Planning Department published *Places of Worship in Liverpool* to advise churches on how to prepare for upcoming renewal projects, though the forty-four-page report was scant on actual details.[21] In reality, religion manifested itself through urban planning and governance in more clandestine ways, with local residents exerting pressure on the Housing Department to adopt a policy based on segregation, if not in name then at least in practice.[22] The report does, nevertheless, explain the focus on Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism. Whilst issuing instruction to thirty-seven different faiths, the report makes clear that these are city's principal denominations.[23] Nor did the report include what it termed as 'immigrant religions.'[24] Liverpool was a cosmopolitan city with a

[20] City Centre Planning Group, *LCCP*, p. 40 and Bor, *IPPS*, p. 46
[21] Liverpool City Planning Department, *Places of Worship in Liverpool* (Liverpool: Liverpool City Planning Department, 1967)
[22] For example, see H. Parker, *View from The Boys: A Sociology of Down-Town Adolescents* (London: David & Charles, 1974), p. 28; Interview with Roy Hughes, 17/09/2015, p. 4
[23] Liverpool City Planning Department, *Places of Worship in Liverpool*, p. 19, p. 36
[24] *Ibid*, p. 10

wide variety of religious faiths, although their story is as much defined by a lack of territory than a conflict over it.

The third issue of note is the peculiar impact of the Liverpool Protestant Party, which remained the sectarian mouthpiece of local politics until its demise in 1973. Owing to an agreement with local Conservatives that left the electoral wards of Netherfield and St Domingo uncontested, it persisted in local government and focused on contesting urban renewal as an attack on the homogenous religious communities it claimed to represent. In Netherfield and St Domingo at least, the politics of renewal functioned through the prism of sectarianism. Moreover, the Party's demise, previously ascribed to depopulation and a rise of class politics, was at least in part connected to the alteration of local electoral boundaries under the Local Government Act 1972, the biggest national administrative reorganisation ever experienced.[25] Wiping the Protestant enclaves from the map stripped the Party, not of its support base per se, but of the framework within which its support base could function politically. If the Party had acted as a sectarian outlet until then, these attitudes and identities subsequently had to be channelled into other activities such as parading and graffiti, meaning that these public expressions arguably became *more* important during this period.

Finally, on the issue of religious faith, few of this project's interviewees could be described as devout.[26] In this case, however, the symbolic is as important as the substance. Many recalled the mentality of the tribe and the folk customs and traditions that this sustained. These issues were often raised unprompted and, indeed, subscribed to Patrick Collinson's description of what religion *does*. They served as a motivating precipitant that provoked action which would not have been taken without it; they created and strengthened social bonds; and they provided legitimation for acts deemed unacceptable or

[25] W. West, 'Local Government Act 1972', *Modern Law Review*, 36.4 (1973), p. 412. See also P. Richards, *The Local Government Act 1972: Problems of Implementation* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1975), p. 192; B. Keith-Lucas and P. Richards, *A History of Local Government in the Twentieth Century* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1978), p. 230; J. Chandler, *Explaining Local Government: Local Government in Britain Since 1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 198

[26] Admittedly, explicitly religious questions were never asked.

unlawful.[27] That religion remained a strong part of place's communal identity – as a collection of practices rooted in a tribal sense of history and territory – suggests that it endured as a significant feature of particular communities long into the late-twentieth century. In this case, it would be more helpful to invert the seminal claims of Davie and Brown. Liverpool's inner city communities instead demonstrate a greater affiliation to *belonging without believing*, through a process of discursive sectarianism.

[27] P. Collinson, 'Religion, Society, and the Historian', *The Journal of Religious History*, 23.2 (1999), p. 153

Section I – When Two Tribes go to War: Parading and Public Space in the Inner City

The Post-1945 Trajectory of Liverpool's Orange Lodges

Public religion in Liverpool has a long and contentious history. By the beginning of the twentieth century, parades and public preaching had left a legacy of violence, sectarianism and segregation. By the latter half of the nineteenth century the penetration of Liverpool's political culture by a strong Orange tendency was, according to Belchem and MacRaild, 'unmatched elsewhere in Britain'; embedded in the politics of the city so that, by the last quarter of the century, Frank Neal suggests that 'the staking out of territory increased the dangers of riots arising from drum-and-fife bands asserting their right to march anywhere they pleased.'[28] As a result, the city has been widely seen as the centre of English Orangeism, with a dominant feature of the Order's influence invested in its ability to stage large-scale events as very public demonstrations of identity and power.

Public space and expressions of religious identity remained a contested issue into the postwar period. In 1949, for example, Archbishop Downey refused the carrying of the Cross of Jerusalem over 200 metres of dockland, stating that whilst 'it is true that the distance is exceedingly short, in His Grace's opinion it is quite long enough to cause trouble with the Orange element in Liverpool.'[29] Downey's allusion to an "Orange element" is important. Accounts of the Order's trajectory from the mid-1950s onwards follow a very particular narrative of decline in its social and political influence. However, this section will demonstrate how anxieties surrounding religion and public space continued long into the post-war period. Reports of the Order's decline often fail to give considered attention to the most visible and consistent aspect of Orange activity; its capacity to stage numerous and well-attended public parades. In doing so, it sustained a variety of territorial religious boundaries

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[28] J. Belchem and D. MacRaild, 'Cosmopolitan Liverpool' in J. Belchem (ed). *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), p. 327; F. Neal, *Sectarian Violence: The Liverpool Experience, 1819-1914* (Liverpool: Newsham Press, 2003), p. 196

[29] Archbishop Robert Downey, quoted in P. Sutherland, 'Sectarianism and Evangelicalism in Birmingham and Liverpool, 1850-2010' in (ed.) J. Wolffe, *Protestant-Catholic Conflict from the Reformation to the 21st Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 146

throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Liverpool's inner city and city centre therefore became an important stage for a variety of episodic and contested religious practices amongst communities.

The Order's largest march, commonly referred to as "the Twelfth", occurred annually on 12th July. Commemorating Protestant victory in the 1690 Battle of the Boyne, the Twelfth remained a significant public event in Liverpool. Though the English Order's main parade was held in the nearby coastal resort of Southport, large numbers of Liverpool-based Lodges would begin marching towards the city centre from the north, east and south from eight o'clock onwards before boarding Southport-bound trains from Exchange Station. Upon returning, many Lodges would regroup and march back to their localities later that evening. Crucially, Keith Roberts's research has attested to the enduring numerical strength of Lodges in Liverpool. Whilst the average number of members per Lodge was declining, overall Lodge numbers in the city peaked at 197 in 1915 and witnessed surprisingly little decline in the ensuing years. In 1974, 177 Lodges remained – an impressive feat given the city's population losses.[30] Moreover, despite significant redevelopment and social upheaval, Lodges sprung up in surrounding new estates such as Kirkby and Cantril Farm.

With large numbers of individual Lodges still able to take part, parade attendances at the Twelfth, consistently hovering above 10,000 from the beginning of the century before dropping markedly only after 1985, further demonstrate its enduring popularity.[31] Media reports appear to confirm this, though it should be noted that journalists were often making informed estimates of attendance figures. For example, the *Liverpool Daily Post* claimed that the Order's 1975 march, with 20,000 in attendance, was one of the biggest ever staged in the city.'[32] A decade later, the *Daily Post* would again claim that 20,000, 'ranging from tiny toddlers to old veterans', would march through

[30] K. Roberts, 'The Rise and Fall of Liverpool Sectarianism: An Investigation into the Decline of Sectarian Antagonism on Merseyside' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Liverpool, 2015), p. 160
[31] *Ibid*, p. 146
[32] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 14th July 1975

Liverpool.[33] Moreover, demand for transport remained consistent throughout this period, with extra train services to shuttle marchers to and from Southport a continual feature of the day. Much like media reports from the time, a variety of personal memories often focus on the scale of parades. Having moved to Liverpool in 1974, Colin Wilkinson vividly remembered witnessing his first Lodge march:

> Rushing up to Berry Street, I was mesmerized by a long procession of pipers, drummers, baton carriers and serious looking men and women all marching in time…This was the Dingle contingent marching to catch the Southport train and, in the early 1970s, they made up a sizeable crowd.[34]

Consequently, the Twelfth remained one of the region's larger public annual gatherings, sustaining its place as a popular ritual practice. Nor were Order parades restricted to 12th July. Whilst celebrations culminated with the Twelfth, the surrounding week hosted various other events including the annual children's march and the annual Orange service at Liverpool's Philharmonic Hall. Again, these were large public spectacles with the *Echo* reporting that over 10,000 converged to march through the city centre on 11th July 1977.[35] In 1979, the children's march attracted '10,000 children from over 100 Lodges with almost 60 bands.'[36] Moreover, marching season ran from April to August and witnessed a series of events, including marches to commemorate public holidays like Commonwealth Day.[37] Overall, in 1977 it was reported that the Lodge had organised eighty-six processions in the city that year, a figure that would rise the following year to 129.[38] The Order, therefore, remained able to regularly fashion various urban spectacles.

The enduring numerical strength of the Lodge was joined by its continuing role within the community, an aspect of heightened importance

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[33] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 13th July 1985
[34] Orange Parade, London Road 1969 <http://streetsofliverpool.co.uk/orange-parade-london-road-1969/> [accessed on 18/01/2016]
[35] *Liverpool Echo*, 11th July 1977
[36] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 9th July 1979
[37] *Guardian*, 31st May 1976
[38] *Hansard*, 13th March 1979, vol. 964, col. 361

Image 2.1 – Orange Lodge club in Everton (1984)

amidst the disruption and change of urban renewal. In the postscript of his study of Liverpool sectarianism during the nineteenth century, Neal hinted at the Lodges' continuing influence, suggesting that they provided 'a support system and sense of identity and community to people who have been battered by the upheaval involved in slum clearance.'[39] John Stoddart, in extensively photographing the Everton Lodges during the early 1980s, witnessed this first-hand. For many, the Lodge was a social network as well as a political or religious institution:

> The Lodges were fantastic. Some of their nutty nights out were great. I remember speaking to one old lady, she wasn't much interested in religion, and she said they'd saved her life because she was cooped up in some dump in Everton Heights and they got her out and took her to these barmy social clubs.[40]

[39] F. Neal, *Sectarian Violence: The Liverpool Experience, 1819-1914* (Liverpool: Newsham Press, 2003), p. 253

[40] Interview with John Stoddart, 16/09/2015, p. 3

Indeed, John's photographs, including Image 2.1, highlight the centrality of the Lodge as a community hub amidst urban decline, and not simply as an emblem of sectarian or political beliefs. His photographs of their nutty nights out highlight that for many of its members the religious connotations of the organisation were regularly subsumed under the more mundane experience of everyday life.

Parading Identity, Conflict and Spectacle

Marching and parading in Liverpool during this period ritually delineated boundaries, instilled public space with identity and highlighted the territorial geographies that continued to symbolically divide inner city communities. Jan Koster has argued that ritual, as a process tied to demarcated locations, is the human experience of identity in relation to territory.[41] Certain rituals and symbols inevitably make claims to space and whereas churches provide a quasi-private place for the practice of religious ritual, quasi-religious rituals like parading naturally spill onto the streets. These connotations have been well documented within Northern Irish contexts, yet are seldom introduced to studies of popular religion in England or Scotland.[42] Put simply, marches required a *public* performance space and, by periodically appropriating the cityscape, made claims to public space on behalf of political religion and religious politics. Moreover, in researching how parading in Belfast propagates an attachment to "sacred spaces" in the urban landscape, O'Dowd and McKnight suggest these spaces are not sacred in the traditional sense, 'but to seemingly inconsequential and mundane gable walls, bricked up houses, churches and streets.'[43] In a similar way, parading in Liverpool highlighted and sustained the sacred in the ordinary. The ability of marches (and marchers) to project Protestant and Loyalist identities over humdrum public space inevitably

[41] J. Koster, 'Ritual Performance and the Politics of Identity: On the Functions and Uses of Ritual', *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*, 4.2 (2003), p. 211

[42] D. Bryan, 'Interpreting the Twelfth', *History Ireland*, 2.2 (1994); D. Bryan and N. Jarman, 'Parading Tradition. Protesting Triumphalism: Utilizing Anthropology in Public Policy' in H. Donnan and G. McFarlane (eds), *Culture and Policy in Northern Ireland: Anthropology in the Public Arena* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queens University of Belfast, 1997); N. Jarman, *Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Berg, 1997); O'Dowd and McKnight, 'Urban Intersections: Religion and Violence in Belfast'; D. Bryan, 'Parades, Flags, Carnivals, and Riots: Public Space, Contestation and Transformation in Northern Ireland', *Peace and Conflict*, 21.4 (2015)

[43] O'Dowd and McKnight, 'Urban Intersections: Religion and Violence in Belfast', p. 373

led to discursive, and occasionally physical, conflicts over the territorial enclosures in which such practices were deemed acceptable. It created, in the words of Koster, a 'symbolic *territorial model* by filling a designated space with prescribed ritual actions and symbols.'[44]

Merely as a result of the sheer numbers taking part, Orange parades made symbolic claims over the ownership of urban space. Uniform in appearance and marching in time to fife-and-drum bands made a bold projection of Orange identity. This was joined by the visual presentation of certain symbols, what the *Echo* would describe as 'all the elaborate pageantry demanded by long tradition.'[45] Displayed most obviously via two children at the head of every Lodge dressed up as William and Mary, marchers also presented a variety of flags, badges and slogans. Images 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4, taken on Pall Mall in 1973 and Lime Street in 1983, demonstrate the pomp and ceremony associated with the event. An assortment of Loyalist paraphernalia can be seen; the colourful uniforms of those taking part, the variety of musical instruments, the prominence of the Union Jack and a banner depicting King Billy on horseback. The result was that the Twelfth constructed a symbolic landscape of Protestantism and Loyalism.

Of course, marching left itself open to a variety of interpretations, and while some marchers adopted more casual roles within the parade, for many the pageantry provided the perfect opportunity to boldly express a sectarian identity. Certain segments of Liverpool's marching community had a distinct reputation, to put it mildly. In a 1970 Commons debate on the parades due to take place in Belfast that summer, one MP suggested:

> The security forces should not have their burden further increased by the usual contingents coming across from Liverpool and Glasgow. On these occasions…such people tend to be more vehement in some ways than the people living in Northern Ireland.[46]

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[44] Koster, 'Ritual Performance and the Politics of Identity', p. 214
[45] *Liverpool Echo*, 12th July 1972
[46] *Hansard*, 3rd July 1970, vol. 803, col. 253

Image 2.2 – The Orange Lodge march into Liverpool City Centre via Pall Mall (1973)

Image 2.3 – The Orange Lodge parade down Lime Street (1983)

Image 2.4 – The Orange Lodge parade down Lime Street (1983)

This staunch commitment to the cause was symbolised by Richard Wilcock of Netherfield Brow. On marching to the annual 1977 service at the Philharmonic Hall, Wilcock had insisted on joining his band despite suffering from chest pains immediately prior to the start of the march. On reaching the Philharmonic, Wilcock swiftly collapsed and was diagnosed with a suspected heart attack, though not before he had successfully paraded.[47]

The marchers' enthusiasm meant that the parades had the ability to completely alter the very nature of the cityscape. The Twelfth was an impressive multisensory spectacle that grabbed the attention of residents. In most reports, Lodge parades dramatically transformed otherwise dreary inner city areas into a 'sea of orange' or a 'blaze of colour' that could take several hours to pass.[48] The parades often had a knock-on effect on the nature of their surroundings, with the *Echo* reporting in 1972 and 1973 how the traditions of the terraced street appeared to have successfully transferred to the high-rise, with flats in the Everton area draping Union Jack and Ulster flags from their windows as Lodges marched past.[49] This visual intensity was further

[47] *Liverpool Echo*, 11th July 1977
[48] *Liverpool Echo*, 12th July 1969; *Liverpool Echo*, 12th July 1973
[49] *Liverpool Echo*, 12th July 1972. See also *Liverpool Echo*, 12th July 1973, 'Union Jacks were draped from the windows of many multi-storey flats in the area as marchers arrived.'

accompanied by an aural bombardment. For example, Colin remembered the powerful impression made by the marches when he described hearing the 'incredible thumping of drums and wail of bagpipes' long before seeing the march itself.[50] Linda, marching in the Lodge during the early 1970s, had similar memories:

> It was the sound. The first song they always played was "The Sash My Father Wore". Well, that really got us going. To this day, if I hear a band or marching music, I'll march in time…its automatic how I'll get into it. I loved that aspect of being in the Lodge.[51]

Moreover, as visual public spectacles and a temporary but significant disruption to the flow of everyday life in the city, the parades demanded the attention of anyone nearby. For example, the Twelfth of 1972 made Ronnie Hughes, a housing officer based in Everton, ninety minutes late to his first day on the job:

> You knew that you weren't allowed to cross the street within the march. You had to wait and respect it.[52]

In some years, it was noted that traffic in and around the city centre was halted for two hours or more. Described by the *Echo* in 1977, the Twelfth of that year witnessed 'more than 10,000 converge on the city centre from three points. Hundreds of motorists were caught bumper-to-bumper as the parade choked the city.'[53] Couched in forceful and military terms, the evocative imagery of a parade asphyxiating the city is illustrative of its disruptive effects and the power it exercised over the function of everyday life.

As a result, parades warranted a heavy police presence on the streets. Indeed, the annual reports of Merseyside Police suggest that the Operational Support and Mounted Divisions were constantly on hand, year after year, to

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[50] Orange Parade, London Road 1969 <http://streetsofliverpool.co.uk/orange-parade-london-road-1969/> [accessed on 18/01/2016]. Comments on the noise of marching bands were a regularly reported in the local press. See *Liverpool Echo*, 12th July 1972
[5151] Interview with Linda Ledder, 01/02/2016, p. 7
[52] Interview with Ronnie Hughes, 07/10/2015, p. 20
[53] *Liverpool Echo*, 12th July 1977

assist in operations.[54] As a logistical task, parades 'necessitated considerable planning, close liaison with agencies, officials, the dissemination of information to divisional commanders and the preparation of operational orders.'[55] Bob Edwards, an officer at the time, remembers this well, suggesting that 'the city centre was policed to the hilt.'[56] The scale of disruption to everyday life is best illustrated by the fact that police anxieties generally focused not on large-scale violence but on the temporary suspension of movement in the city centre. In 1973, the *Echo* reported that 'all police leave was cancelled to cope with the massive problem of traffic and pedestrian control.' Regardless of their valiant efforts, the paper reported that 'thousands of Lodge marchers had brought traffic to a standstill.'[57] Therefore, as well as providing a space in which Protestant and Loyalist imagery could be openly displayed and identities could be performed, the ability of the Twelfth to disrupt the normal flow of everyday life in the city had the doubling effect of demanding the attention of others.

In making such a powerful imprint on the landscape, marching and parading built a fleeting framework within which sectarian attitudes could periodically re-emerge. Eddie Cotton, a childhood resident of Canterbury Heights in Everton, recalled the temporary and episodic nature of parading tensions:

> It was funny because everyone more or less got on for the rest of the year. These were the idiosyncrasies of the community – we'd all be in the same boat, we'd all share the shops, but for two days of the year we'd kill each other. Then, suddenly, it would be back to normal again.[58]

Ritual behaviours such as parading become most controversial precisely when they escape their demarcated venues and for Dominic Bryan, it is these 'public spaces that play an important role in the manifestation of conflict.'[59] In short,

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[54] Merseyside Police Authority, *Annual Report 1978* (Liverpool: Merseyside Police Authority, 1978), p. 88; Merseyside Police Authority, *Annual Report 1979* (Liverpool: Merseyside Police Authority, 1979), p. 57

[55] Merseyside Police Authority, *Annual Report 1982* (Liverpool: Merseyside Police Authority, 1982), p. 116

[56] Interview with Bob Edwards, 15/08/2015, p. 22

[57] *Liverpool Echo*, 12th July 1973. See also *Liverpool Echo*, 12th July 1969

[58] Interview with Eddie Cotton, 27/07/2015, p. 1

[59] Bryan, 'Parades, Flags, Carnivals, and Riots', p. 571

parading tested and pushed the boundaries of where such ritual was acceptable, becoming a symbolic repository for tension between Protestant and Catholic communities.[60] In making claims to the ownership of certain spaces, parades inevitably walked a thin line through particular areas of the inner city, finding their moves contested at various points. Whereas the mass communal violence around parading had well and truly died off, as Wildman's research into Manchester's interwar Whit walks has demonstrated, indignation and hostility could instead be expressed through small and highly emotive acts, such as closing curtains as the parade passed or refusing to wash front steps in the run up.[61] It was at these moments of transgression that the mental geographies of communal territory arose.

The sense of residual hostility attached to the Twelfth can only be briefly glimpsed upon in local media outlets. In 1972 for example, the *Echo* mentioned that the processions would take place under police escort, whereas in 1985 the *Daily Post* quoted Merseyside Police as saying, 'there had been the odd incident but these were easily dealt with.'[62] Six years earlier, a similar statement claimed that the force had made thirty arrests, 'which is about average for 12th July.'[63] However, media depictions largely ignored the more abstract communal tensions that parades temporarily reignited. In utilising the combat myths of immaterial histories and a long memory of previous incidents, they could spark a variety of combative responses. Lodge names like Sons of the Boyne and Daughters of Victory memorialised battles and commemorated victory through violence, whereas Kirkby Defenders and Cantril's Glory attached to tangible places the intangible idea of an identity under siege. Added to this, the Loyalism associated with parades took on a new political salience as the Troubles began in the late 1960s, an issue amplified in Liverpool due to its historic connections to Ireland. In this way, parades drew on a variety of combat myths – historic, local and national – and, whether intentional or not, utilised a collective

[60] For example in the Northern Irish context, see D. Ferman, 'A Parade or a Riot: A Discourse Analysis of Two Ethnic Newspapers on the 2011 Marching Season in Northern Ireland', *Journal of Media and Religion*, 12.2 (2013), p. 59
[61] Wildman, 'Religious Selfhoods and the City', p. 111
[62] *Liverpool Echo*, 11th July 1972; *Liverpool Daily Post*, 13th July 1985
[63] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 13th July 1979

memory of communal conflict. In doing so, ritual parading helped to carve a symbolic territorial distinction between "us" and "them".

Whereas the skirmishes created may have been fleeting, these momentary events were drafted into much deeper communal memories and identities, themselves pivotal to prompting future action. Prophecies became self-fulfilling as flare-ups occurred where they were expected to and precisely where the Lodge marched became representative of a symbolic geography that defined the city. In attempting to reach Exchange Station, the parades naturally had to skirt around or pass through areas seen as traditionally Catholic, a point well remembered on both sides. Marchers may have revelled in the support of their own territories within Everton or the Dingle, but in passing the doorsteps of, for example, Shaw Street or London Road they garnered a much frostier response. Bob, an Anglican, remembers that:

> The whole process was antagonistic. Instead of just walking down Tithebarn Street, they'd go down Highfield Street because there was a Catholic church there and as they went past they'd bang the drums a bit louder.[64]

Likewise, Eddie's testimony reveals that there remained similar flashpoints across the inner city. Living off Shaw Street, he remembered:

> All the old Catholic ladies would be standing on the corner of William Henry Street showing their green bloomers. The Lodge would get wound up and they'd bang their drums louder. Next you'd hear someone shout "Fuck King Billy!"[65]

This idea of encroaching on perceived territory would dictate responses on both sides. Frank Carlyle, a resident of Gerard Gardens, remembered talking to a young Lodge member in the 1980s about the parade routes. Frank's question

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[64] Interview with Bob Edwards, 15/08/2015, p. 21. The church referred to is St Mary's Church. Opened in 1953, it replaced a church heavily damaged in the Blitz. It was demolished in 2003.

[65] Interview with Eddie Cotton, 27/07/2015, p. 2. See also Honorary Deputy of the Liverpool Orange Lodge George Green quoted in Rogers, *The Lost Tribe*, p. 131. Green held an incredibly similar geography, suggesting that 'Shaw Street by the bottom of Everton Brow was another focal point because we were walking the border line of the Catholic communities.'

indicates a Catholic claim to territory, whereas Barbara's reported response demonstrates an acute understanding of the area's social geography:

> I said, "Hey Barbara, do you know when the Lodge walk down London Road, the mast seems to go higher and the drums seem to go louder. Why is that?" And she told me, "Because we're right in the heart of Catholicism, so let's really make sure they know we're here."[66]

Likewise, Linda discovered these territorial nuances the hard way. Parades past St Andrew's Gardens on London Road could incite violent reactions:

> It was terrible there because they were all Catholics and we'd be marching past. They'd be out their windows shouting to us, calling us Orange scum…I remember one time I was holding a little boy's hand when we were coming back from Southport…As we were coming past the Bullring I felt something whizz past my head and it smashed in front of me. It split this little boy's leg wide open as it hit him…somebody had thrown a bottle. There was murder.[67]

The descriptions of Eddie, Frank and Linda bear remarkable similarity to Parker's mid-1970s sociology of St Andrew's Gardens. Come the Twelfth the Gardens 'stood like a medieval fortress ready to defend its tradition with vigour.'[68] Parker suggested that sectarian tensions would simmer as the parade approached, reach a crescendo as it passed before gradually fading in its wake:

> The height of trouble usually occurs when the Orange parade marches up the hill past Roundhouse. What seems like its complete population is waiting in force. The police are also out in strength – on horses, in uniform, in plain clothes, as they hold back the crowds lining the roadside. As the parade comes nearer the children of Roundhouse start chanting anti-King Billy ditties…Songs and chants are shrieked, fingers raised, tongues pulled, fists clenched, bottles thrown. For some ten

[66] Interview with Frank Carlyle, 14/08/2015, p. 10
[67] Interview with Linda Ledder, 01/02/2016, p. 3
[68] Parker, *View from The Boys*, p. 30

> minutes the three sides strain in the deafening noise, then slowly the parade passes and everyone returns to the Block.[69]

As the above passage hints, this delicate situation was not lost on the police. Evaluating the city's public order risks in 1970, the force highlighted the Lodge parades as a potential powder keg. 'While good sense generally prevails', it noted, 'it would only require some small incident to fan the diametrically opposed religious factions into an active rather than a passive role.'[70] Translated into colloquial, an Operations Inspector told the journalist James McClure that 'it only needs somebody to yell, "Fak off, yer bastids!" and it's been known for them to stop playin', down instruments and chase the poor bugger.'[71] Likewise, a similar report from 1978 commented on how offensive slogans had been painted along one of the parade routes on the eve of the Twelfth. Though mainly covered for the march, the action incited a violent response the next day as 'fighting broke out between some marchers and by-standers.' Tensions were clearly running high as the following Sunday, another major procession was marred with 'fighting amongst the same sections.'[72]

While drunkenness accounted for a significant number of arrests and fuelled violent incidents on the return marches, interviewees recalled a range of more sinister activities that demonstrate how parts of Liverpool's inner city remained a contested cultural space. The most evocative example is that of John, who photographed many Lodge marches in the early 1980s. Whilst following a parade along the disputed point of Shaw Street in Everton, John noticed trouble and captured the ensuing scene in Image 2.5:

> That picture you've got of the lad being nicked by the police – there was always a little undercurrent of that…they deliberately marched through Catholic areas. It all sounds bloody stupid now, but it did get tense. It was quite surreal because there were lots of people hanging around, many of them dressed in the clothes of the Lodge. And you could see in

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[69] *Ibid*, p. 30
[70] *9th June 1970, Reports of the Liverpool and Bootle Police Authority, 1970/71*, LRO M352 MIN/2/27/2
[71] McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 426
[72] Merseyside Police Authority, *Annual Report 1978*, p. 14

Image 2.5 – Youth being arrested for throwing stones at a passing Orange Lodge parade on Shaw Street (1983)

> their faces that something was going on. There were all these rocks coming over, and he was throwing them.[73]

Eddie, who fifteen years previously was living less than a few hundred feet away from the arrest captured by Stoddart, remembered similar occurrences of small scale violence during the parades:

> There'd be huge gangs of us Catholics and we'd try and, I'd say ambush them but basically the older lads would be throwing bricks and bottles and stuff like that.[74]

Therefore, in creating a temporary framework within which a variety of sectarian acts could take place, parades delineated and reproduced communal boundaries, sustaining notions of enduring, segregated territories within the landscape. And whereas there may have been contested territories that the Lodge was willing or required to run the line on, there were certain areas that

[73] Interview with John Stoddart, 16/09/2015, p. 6
[74] Interview with Eddie Cotton, 27/07/2015, pp. 1-2

remained off-limits. Anne Taylor, a resident of Athol Street in Vauxhall, put it bluntly:

> They did deliberately change their marches to try and cause trouble, but they weren't brave enough to come where I lived! There would have been madness.[75]

Of course, the framework for sectarian acts was fleeting and highly localised. Paul Sudbury, for example, a childhood resident of Gerard Gardens in the mid-1970s, standing just several hundred yards from the last flare up point of London Road, noted how the religious aspects of the parade had markedly faded:

> It was probably different if you went to the top of Netherfield Road. That was the equivalent of walking the Falls Road. By the time it got to [Commutation Row], the impact of either religion was watered down to such an extent that it didn't matter.[76]

As Paul's statement suggests, parading left itself open to a range of interpretations and for many, especially children, the political and religious aspects were much less important than the enjoyment of the march as an event in its own right. As Finlay and McDonnell have suggested, 'parading is fluid, open to change and interpretation and must be located in context.'[77] In short, it was hard to ignore the impressive visual spectacle on display. Most importantly, this desire to watch the spectacle unfold often crossed the religious divide. Anne Redden, a secondary school teacher in the Dingle, remembered:

> You noticed that it was the Orange Lodge day because half the kids were missing. A lot of them were Catholics who just wanted a day out to go to town![78]

In a move that demonstrated local children's ability to creatively reimagine their surroundings, to be explored further in Chapter 4, many childhood

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[75] Interview with Anne Taylor, 21/07/2015, p. 10
[76] Interview with Paul Sudbury, 05/09/2015 p. 16
[77] A. Finlay and N. McDonnell, 'Pluralism, Partitionism and the Controversy Generated by a Proposed Orange Parade in Dublin', *Irish Studies Review*, 11.1 (2003), p. 27
[78] Interview with Anne Redden, 17/06/2015, p. 13

memories focused on the vibrancy and excitement of the march. Too young to understand the religious or political meanings embedded within the event, for many children the bright colours, clamorous noises and extravagant costumes took on notions of the carnivalesque. For Paul:

> We used to always go over to Wellington's Column, sit on the steps and watch the parade…What wasn't to love about it? It was our carnival. We never knew the religious or political significance of it.[79]

Joanne Heeney had similar memories going to watch the Dingle and Garston Lodges during the late 1970s. Looking back, she highlights the different perspectives the parades took on when viewed from childhood:

> We didn't know what it was! It was just a parade…we weren't brought up with that knowledge. It was just people in costumes walking past.[80]

Nor was the carnival atmosphere restricted to younger spectators. For some of the adults involved, the day was treated with a festivity that inevitably led to significant merriment that often strayed into excess. Policing the occasion in the early 1970s, Bob Edwards remembered:

> The Lodge were going past and there was a man lying on the bench in front of St George's Hall, pure white with a cut on his head. I made the fatal mistake of shaking him to wake him up. He was blind drunk. This was midday so he'd been on the ale all morning and the first thing he saw was a police uniform. He brought his knee up as hard as he possibly could into my crotch and I just ended up on the deck.[81]

Media reports often stated how pubs in Southport had seen a roaring trade, whereas both John Viggars and Marie Cunningham remembered the Lodge coming back from Southport 'rotten drunk.'[82] Likewise, in interviewing a police Operations Inspector, McClure emphasised just how prevalent drink was during parading. He was told of how 'some of the marchers are absolutely paralytic –

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[79] Interview with Paul Sudbury, 05/09/2015, pp. 15-16. Similar memories are presented in Rogers, *The Lost Tribe*, p. 129

[80] Interview with Joanne Heeney, 01/10/2015, pp. 16-17

[81] Interview with Bob Edwards, 15/08/2015, p. 22

[82] Interview with Marie Cunningham, 14/10/2015, p. 19; Interview with John Viggars, 12/10/2015, p. 21.

they can hardly stand to play their instruments.' Many qualified as drunk and incapacitated, 'with the constant threat of them turning [drunk and disorderly] should anyone have the temerity to cross the street through their midst.'[83] McClure found the peculiarity of the parades to be their most striking element. This, mixed with large quantities of alcohol, led to this bleak summary, in which he disparagingly described them as:

> Unpolished if heartfelt affairs, each lodge has a tatty banner and usually a very inexpert band…and their general appearance is of a jumble sale on the move – whether this is due to poverty or paucity of imagination may be a moot point, but the amount of drink so obviously consumed must have cost something.[84]

Unequal Opportunities, Papacy and Protest

While Orange Order marches provided a space in which certain Protestant identities could be displayed, the perception amongst many Catholics was that they were afforded significantly less freedom in publicly expressing their religious identity and heritage. Just as Archbishop Downey had refused the carrying of the Cross of Jerusalem in 1949, this period would be marked by tensions regarding access to public space for outward expressions Catholicism and its historic links within the city to statements of Irish heritage.[85] Most obviously, the beginning of this period witnessed the cancellation of the city's annual St Patrick's Day parade, but in many other regards Catholic events failed to seize the urban landscape in the same manner as Orange marches.

Historically, the same concerns relating to sectarian disorder at the Twelfth would settle on St Patrick's Day. Pat O'Mara's *Autobiography of a Liverpool Irish Slummy*, for example, tells how gangs roamed the city in the early twentieth century 'asking in bluffing belligerent tones whether or not they were

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[83] McClure, *Spike Island*, pp. 425-426
[84] *Ibid*, p. 426
[85] Belchem has explored the long-standing synonymy in the city between 'Irish' and 'Catholic' in J. Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse: The History of the Liverpool Irish* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007)

I or O (Irish or Orange; the challenge to strangers on St Patrick's Day).'[86] Bob, growing up around Athol Street in the early 1960s, remembered this hostile question still being asked along the border of Catholic Vauxhall and Protestant Everton:

> If you walked down Great Homer Street, you'd get gangs of lads popping out of doorways asking if you were I or O. Great Homer Street was a boundary, so it was a tough call to make.[87]

Indeed, Roberts suggests that clashes on St. Patrick's Day, while not as inevitable as those on the Twelfth, 'nonetheless became an expectant feature of city life.'[88] By the early 1960s however, in much the same way that Orange marches gradually lost their widespread element of disorder, the outward tensions around St Patrick's Day became much less notable.

The annual St Patrick's Day parade remained the foremost expression of Irish Catholic identity in the city until the mid-1960s. In 1965 for example, the *Daily Post* reported that 'thousands lined the route of the parade – from the top of Leece Street down Renshaw Street and Lime Street and onto London Road.'[89] In a similar fashion to Lodge marches, the St Patrick's Day parade allowed Irish and Catholic communities a chance to publicly display their heritage. For example, the 1965 parade culminated with 360 troops from the 470 (3rd West Lancashire) Light Air Defence Regiment marching past a delegation of prominent local dignitaries at St George's Place, 'wearing shamrocks above their medals in celebration'. In the watching crowd 'many wore emerald green streamers and a special cheer went up as the party of regimental Irish pipers and drummers in their tan kilts approached.'[90] Frank remembered the parades in a similar fashion:

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[86] P. O'Mara, *The Autobiography of a Liverpool Irish Slummy* (London: Martin Hopkinson, 1934), p. 86
[87] Interview with Bob Edwards, 15/08/2015, p. 4
[88] Roberts, 'The Rise and Fall of Liverpool Sectarianism', p. 98
[89] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 15th March 1965
[90] *Ibid*

> Everybody used to wear shamrocks, even if they weren't Irish. There were shamrocks everywhere.[91]

Two years later, the *Daily Post* reported on a somewhat more sombre scene. The increasingly tense situation in Northern Ireland provided a new context for the annual parade. This time, little mention was given to the watching crowds, whereas the parading Irish pipers were engaged in their own battle against gale force winds. The paper reported, without comment, that this was 'the final parade in which members from the West Lancs regiment will take part.'[92]

Official information on the cancellation of the parades is scarce. However, several interviewees pinpointed the date to the late 1960s and media reporting – once an annual feature in the *Daily Post* – drops off after 1967. Several accounts link the parade's curtailment to fears of civil disorder spreading from Northern Ireland to the rest of the UK – and, given their history, Liverpool and Glasgow in particular.[93] Likewise, the cancellation of Liverpool's St Patrick's Day parade played into much longer histories of public expressions of Irish identity having to alter their form in response to the evolving situation of Irish republicanism, as previously covered by Wildman, Devlin and Machin.[94]

Whether the cancellation of the annual parade was an official decision or not, the perception that Catholics were not afforded the same rights to public space as their Orange counterparts prevailed. For Frank, the perceived injustice still rankled:

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[91] Interview with Frank Carlyle, 14/08/2015, p. 11

[92] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 20th March 1967

[93] See Cairde na hEireann, *Under Pressure: A Report into Far-Right and Loyalist Attacks Against Irish Community Parades/Marches in Liverpool during 2012* (Liverpool: Cairde na hEireann, 2013), p. 4; *Irish Post*, 27th August 2015. These fears were regularly expressed in the Commons. See *Hansard*, 22nd September 1971, vol. 823 col. 78; *Hansard*, 5th December 1974, vol. 822, col. 1983; *Hansard*, 9th March 1977, vol. 927, col. 1522

[94] Wildman demonstrates how IRA campaigns during the 1920s meant that Manchester's Catholic processions became more about Catholic faith than Irish identity, a situation that would reverse in the 1930s as the situation calmed. Likewise, both Devlin and Machin illustrate how militant Protestant groups concerned at the growth of Catholicism influenced the government response to London's Eucharistic Procession of 1908. C. Wildman, 'Religious Selfhoods and the City', p. 115; C. Devlin, 'The Eucharistic Procession of 1908: The Dilemma of the Liberal Government', *Church History*, 63.3 (1994), pp. 407-425; G. Machin, 'The Liberal Government and the Eucharistic Procession of 1908', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 34.4 (1983), pp. 559-583.

> When I was a little child I used to go in the processions, but that all stopped. They were banned because of the troubles in Ireland. They didn't want any Catholics walking round the streets in procession. It was unfair because the Lodge were allowed to continue.[95]

Nor was this a perception limited to the Catholic community. Roy, a local councillor for the Protestant Party, suggested that:

> What happened was a reflection of what was going on in Ireland. They would equate the 17th March parades with Irish republicanism.[96]

As a result, Catholic processions like the May Parades and Corpus Christi were far more insular than Orange Order marches, with the majority taking place on parish and school grounds. Attending a Catholic school in south Liverpool in the mid-1980s, Andrew, for example, remembered:

> In May they used to process with the statue of the Virgin. June was Corpus Christi and the whole parish and school would walk around the grounds…we wouldn't be allowed to go outside. It wasn't legal for Catholics to process in ritual outside of their own grounds.[97]

It is unclear if these restrictions were self-imposed, as the assertion of several interviewees of the outright illegality of these processions does not appear to be strictly true. Catholic parades did in fact continue on a relatively small scale. What is perhaps more important than the legal technicalities are the strong *perceptions* within the Catholic community that they were afforded a different level of access to the same public space, governed by a feeling that the Lodge was free to march where it pleased. While the factual accuracy of these statements can be called into question – Orange parade routes were subject to restrictions, having been settled via a process of negotiation between the Lodges, the council and the police – that an impression of freedom and access on one side and restriction on the other became adopted into the function and experience of public religion is important. Such opinions were highly symbolic and subsequently affective of behaviour. Whether they were allowed to or not,

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[95] Interview with Frank Carlyle, 14/08/2015, p. 11
[96] Interview with Roy Hughes, 17/09/2015, p. 22
[97] Interview with Andrew Redden, 27/08/2015, pp. 20-21

many Catholics *believed* that public space was off-limits to their symbolism and imagery in ways not relevant to the symbols of Orangeism and Loyalism. As a result, Catholic parades found it much harder to appropriate the urban landscape.

If Orange Order parades were bold and assertive, then Catholic processions often proved much smaller, more sporadic and insular, and more susceptible to the effects of urban renewal. Maria O'Rourke, living off Shaw Street in the mid-1960s, remembers the nature of the annual May Processions:

> The Friary and Holy Cross had the biggest processions. Down in Holy Cross was Little Italy, so they were really hot on processing. Ours in [Saint Francis Xavier] were a bit more circumspect. You'd chose a May

Image 2.6 – Holy Cross Parish May Parade (1971)

Image 2.7 – Crowning of the Virgin Mary, St Philomena's Parish in Walton (1978)

> Queen and you'd end up going round the area and back into the church to crown the statue of Our Lady. As the neighbourhood got smaller it ended up just going around the church grounds and the school playgrounds.[98]

In 1971, the *Catholic Pictorial* covered Holy Cross's May Parade, pictured in Image 2.6. Urban renewal was clearly taking its toll on the community, though despite 'being bounded on two sides by fly-overs and motorways', the *Pictorial* was proud to report that 'the parish is still keeping up old traditions.'[99] However, the parade never strayed out of the parish's neighbourhood boundaries, described only as 'winding its way round the new pedestrian precinct and the new school yard behind the church.'[100] Meanwhile, Image 2.7, showing a young girl crowning a statue of the Virgin Mary in the grounds of St Philomena's 1978 May Procession in Walton, demonstrates how Catholic symbolism was concentrated within the insular space of the parish grounds.

On occasion, Catholic processions would venture beyond their parish boundaries and into the public sphere, though they appeared to have much less impact upon the urban form than the activities of the Lodge. For example, in October 1977 nearly two thousand from the Association of Our Lady of Mount Carmel processed along Hope Street after a day-long conference at the Philharmonic Hall. At the heart of the procession was a statue of Our Lady of Fatima. Generously described by the paper as 'an 'Army of God' marching', the parade – whose destination was the nearby Metropolitan Cathedral – marched down only half of one street, causing significantly less disruption than typical Orange Order events of the time.[101] This inability to capture the urban form is further demonstrated by the Procession of Silent Witness that weaved its way through Liverpool city centre in March of the following year. Numbering just 200 and led by a dozen priests, the procession 'caused little inconvenience to shoppers, many of whom showed little interest in the proceedings.' According to the *Pictorial*, the only attention given was during an incident in which half a

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[98] Interview with Maria O'Rourke, 11/09/2015, p. 7
[99] *Catholic Pictorial*, 6th June 1971
[100] *Catholic Pictorial*, 13th June 1971
[101] *Catholic Pictorial*, 30th October 1977

Image 2.8 – St Andrew's Gardens decorated for the opening of the Metropolitan Cathedral (1967)

dozen youths 'leaned over a high parapet of the shopping precinct and did some half-hearted clapping and a few jeers.' If Orange Order parades could bring the city centre to a virtual standstill, then the *Pictorial's* headline – 'a workaday world scarcely noticed' – provided a neat summary of the impact of Catholic processions on the flow of everyday life.[102]

Whereas the calendar of Catholic processions failed to seize the urban landscape, certain one-off events afforded Catholic communities the chance to confidently and publicly express their religious identity on an unusual scale. The response of certain communities to the opening of the Metropolitan Cathedral of Christ the King on 14th May 1967 and the visit of Pope John Paul II on 30th May 1982 undoubtedly points towards the continuity of vocal Catholic enclaves within the city. For example, St Andrew's Gardens, already identified as a source of substantial tension during the Twelfth, celebrated the opening of the Cathedral with elaborate decorations including ribbons, bunting and, as will be explored, graffiti. Situated in the Cathedral's shadow to the immediate east of Liverpool's city centre, the blocks were a well-known Catholic stronghold and,

[102] *Catholic Pictorial*, 26th March 1978

Image 2.9 – Cathedral opening party at St Andrew's Gardens (1967)

as witnessed in Image 2.8, residents transformed the Gardens into bold and homogenous symbols of Catholicism for the occasion. Covering the event, the *Pictorial* described the blocks as 'festooned with streamers in the Papal colours, with the balconies providing a natural gallery for hundreds of onlookers, many from other parts of the city.'[103] The paper estimated that despite poor weather an attendance of 'more than 2,000 people', including Bessie Braddock, as pictured in Image 2.9, witnessed 'the Bishop Augustine Harris, cheered to the echo, expressing the hope that the community would always remain united.'[104] The Cathedral's opening spawned similar scenes of public celebration across the city as festivity spread to the nearby rows of council houses in Newton Way, as seen from Images 2.10 and 2.11, and further afield, with the *Pictorial* reporting on parties in Toxteth's Letitia Street and Vauxhall's Logan Towers, whose residents chose to festoon the tower block in a celebratory bunting of Papal yellow and white.[105]

Fifteen years later, Pope John Paul II's historic visit provided another opportunity for communities to rally around their Catholic identity, and St Andrew's greeted the papal arrival in a remarkably similar fashion. The

[103] *Catholic Pictorial*, 28th May 1967
[104] *Ibid*
[105] *Ibid*

Image 2.10 – Newton Way decorated to celebrate the opening of the Metropolitan Cathedral (1967)

Image 2.11 – Celebrations surrounding St Andrews' to mark the opening of the Metropolitan Cathedral (1967)

Image 2.12 – St Andrew's Gardens decorated to celebrate the visit of Pope John Paul II (1982)

Image 2.13 – Newton Way decorated to celebrate the visit of Pope John Paul II (1982)

decorative arrangement, as seen from Image 2.12, was nearly identical. Reporting on the day's events for the *Spectator*, Roy Kerridge's descriptions ape those of the *Pictorial* from more than a decade previously:

> The council estates behind the wigwam were decorated in festoons of yellow and white paper, hand-made in Christmas decoration style, and very beautiful. I stood in the centre courtyard of a circular block of 1930s tenements, transformed for the occasion into a fairyland of colour. Everyone on this large estate seemed to be Catholic.[106]

Adorned in allegiance to the Papacy, St Andrew's once again transformed itself into an impressive visual spectacle of denominational identity and, just as they had done for the opening of the Cathedral, the festivities spilled out across the city. Nearby Newton Way once again grabbed the attention of reporters and photographers, as seen in Image 2.13 and colourfully described by Kerridge as resembling 'a rococo yellow and white wedding cake.'[107] A proud and staunchly Catholic enclave within the urban landscape, St Andrew's Gardens and the surrounding areas appeared to have fulfilled Bishop Harris's wishes – they remained united in Catholicism. Nor were such festivities limited to the largest of celebrations, but occurred on a smaller scale on a regular basis. Parker, for example, noted the strong 'religious customs in Roundhouse's internal celebrations', describing how, for the retirement of their local Canon, 'nearly every house was painted in bright colours and hundreds of yards of gay home-made bunting were draped from windows, landings and balconies with great extravagance.'[108]

Of course, as one of the most significant public events in Liverpool's history, Pope John Paul II's visit was cause for celebration across religious divides. Over a million cheering spectators flooded into the city and lined the eight-mile route from Speke Airport to Liverpool city centre. For many, the Pope's decision to pray in the city's Anglican Cathedral was a powerful sign of reconciliation in a city once riven by religious tension – the final nail in the

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[106] R. Kerridge, 'Liverpool Finds its Soul', *Spectator*, 4th June 1982
[107] *Ibid*
[108] Parker, *View from The Boys*, p. 30

sectarian coffin. However, the Papal visit mobilised small numbers of Protestants, including the Reverend Ian Paisley, and presented an opportunity to protest the ecumenical policies that defined both churches. Subsumed by the overwhelming success of the visit, the fruitless demonstrations of that day have been largely forgotten, yet the fact that a certain group attempted to subvert the papal visit, and caused considerable anxiety in the process, is illustrative of the perceived fears that remained around issues of religion, denomination and urban space.

Describing himself as in the right place at the right time, Roy Kerridge reported on the protest in detail:

> A crowd of Orangemen and women had appeared and…two lines of policemen formed across the road, preventing the Chapel Militant from reaching the Pope. 'Look at that! And they say it's a free country! We can't make our voices heard…they won't let us wave banners and our own police are lined against us.'…A man with a deceptive resemblance to a scholarly, humorous old colonel began to talk excitedly of the Number of the Beast, 666, which was the Pope's number, apparently…and a crowd of scrawny young ladies struck up the Orange anthem and soon everyone was singing 'The Sash My Father Wore'…'They said it couldn't happen here!' a Protestant cried out at the sight of John Paul II.[109]

Crucially, the protest's discourse was situated within a perceived invasion of sacred space (the Pope was seen to have *no place* in Liverpool) and focused on the right to access public space in order to protest. For many, it was the fact that the Pope was present in what they viewed as a Protestant city, the *here* of the onlooker's protest, which irked most. The suggestion that the protest was not free to express itself where it wanted – *our own police are lined against us* – raises intriguing questions of what would be publicly tolerated in Liverpool that day. Fears grew in the preceding weeks around whether sectarian protests would blight the occasion. The *Pictorial's* weekly cartoon, pictured in Image 2.14, expressed concerns over the return of petty disobedience, such as the throwing of bricks and bottles. Interviewed in *The Irish Times* that April, Roy

[109] Kerridge, 'Liverpool Finds its Soul'

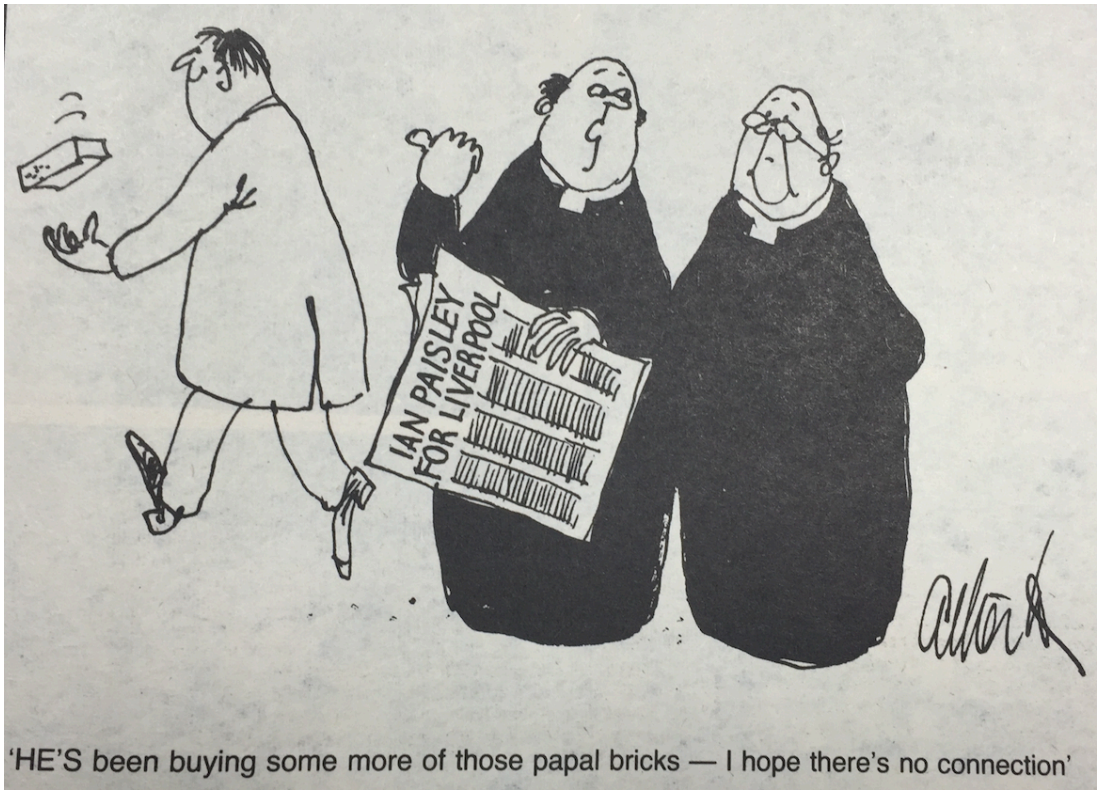

Image 2.14 – Cartoon depicting fears about violence in the run up to the papal visit (1982)

Hughes suggested that he 'did not believe in violence for its own sake, but accepted that the emotional intensity of the preaching could push others into violence.' Hughes continued, stating that while he 'would not like to see naked sectarian violence on the streets, at the same time I'm not prepared to compromise.'[110] Paisley's involvement, and his plans to make a stand on the papal route, only heightened anxieties, especially after protesters interrupted Archbishop Runcie's service at the Anglican Cathedral.[111] A crowd of 'men and women, old and young, numbering well over 200' were irritated at the Pope's proposed visit and the Cathedral's refusal to allow the Orange Order to hold a service there.[112]

In response, Merseyside Police commented that while it was the 'right of every British citizen to demonstrate, we shall be keeping a close watch on any situation arising from [Paisley's] visit.'[113] They proved as good as their word and, in attempting to subvert the mood of celebration into one of protest,

[110] *The Irish Times*, 23rd April 1982
[111] *Catholic Pictorial*, 6th June 1982
[112] *Catholic Pictorial*, 21st March 1982
[113] *Catholic Pictorial*, 6th June 1982

demonstrators found themselves blocked and restricted at every opportunity. In the *Echo's* estimation, '150 militant Protestants…were confronted by over 100 police officers, whose heavily uniformed presence made the demonstration orderly and well-controlled.'[114] The policing of the protest, if appearing heavy-handed at first glance, illustrates the anxiety over the potential for sectarian strife and played into a wider spectrum of evolving public order tactics on behalf of the police, to be investigated further in Chapter Five. The police exerted significant power over the anti-Papal protests of that day; making it abundantly clear that sectarian expressions would not be tolerated, would to all extents and purposes be denied a public arena and would quite literally be policed to the margins, limited to just one ten-yard stretch in which to threaten to turn the Pope's visit upside down.[115] Their failure was a symptom of a declining base of support; even the Orange Order was uncomfortable with their hard-line stance and officially refused to endorse the protest. Most visitors to the city on that day would have been unfortunate to have crossed their path, but it would have been harder to ignore a more omnipresent feature of the inner city's sectarian divide. The rash of pro- and anti-Papal graffiti that plastered the city in the lead-up to the event would prove to be a far more effective method of displaying sectarian attitudes than outright physical protest.

[114] *Liverpool Echo*, 1st June 1982
[115] *Catholic Pictorial*, 6th June 1982

Section II – The Writings on the Wall: Religious Graffiti and Urban Renewal

Graffiti as Identification and Contestation

A year before the Pope's visit to the city, Roy Kerridge found himself wandering up Everton Brow to investigate the conditions of Liverpool's flats. Whilst there, he stumbled upon an intriguing aspect of the local community pasted along the top of Canterbury Heights:

> The most famous of Liverpool's dreadful flats are the Piggeries, which now stand empty and grey with dirt, nearly every window smashed. They were only built in the early Sixties and now look eerie in their solitude. However, I could not but admire the vandals in a way, for with courage over and above the call of vandalism, they had swarmed all over the outside of a block, high up in the air, and painted enormous slogans on the dizzying heights. Probably they had used ropes and mountaineering boots.[116]

Vandalism at that height was hard to ignore. By the early 1980s, it was perceived to be such a serious problem (a point to be investigated in greater detail in Chapter Four) that in 1985 a city-wide conference was called, titled "Violence and Vandalism on Merseyside – The Scourge of To-Day's Society". The general consensus was that the issue had reached epidemic proportions, with the conference suggesting that the issue was 'speedily making sections of our heavily populated large urban areas a nightmare in which to live and work.'[117] Amongst the scribblings – which covered a variety of issues from politics and sport to simple tags and throw-ups – certain reoccurring slogans caught Kerridge's eye. Found slapped across the heights of the Piggeries, they reflected the religious tensions that continued to define the area – ''God Bless Our Pope' I read, rather moved. Other, pro-IRA, slogans pleased less.'[118]

Kerridge was not the only commentator to recognise this pattern. Having spent several years wandering around the inner city as a photographer during

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[116] Kerridge, 'City of Dreadful Flats'
[117] *Crisis Conference on Violence and Vandalism: The Self Destructive Cry of Despair; Proceedings of a Merseyside day conference held in Liverpool, 13th July 1985* LRO HW363.32 CRI
[118] Kerridge, 'City of Dreadful Flats',

the early 1980s, John Stoddart recalled that:

> There was always tension. You've got to remember the IRA were still operating and there was still a pro-IRA feeling around, certainly in graffiti and things like that.[119]

Likewise, Robin Brown, a freelance journalist visiting Liverpool for the first time in 1982, remembered the Protestant and Unionist alternatives:

> "NO POPE HERE". It was the first one I noticed as I pulled into Lime Street. I seem to remember it being near Edge Lane, and presumably stemmed from the Pope's visit to the city in 1982. Welcome to Liverpool.[120]

The suggestion that this amounted to something more than random and opportunistic vandalism was clear. Instead, graffiti appeared to be demarcating boundaries. Visiting football fans, whose treacherous journeys across the inner city are further detailed in Chapter Three, could, according to Dave Hill, 'walk from Lime Street to Anfield…and watch the graffiti change denomination as you go…in an estate off Copperas Hill, tall white letters proclaim 'God Bless Our Pope'', whereas 'along Everton Road 'No Pope' says the pale inscription daubed on the walls.'[121] Wandering away from the Piggeries, a little further up the hill, Kerridge found the subject of the graffiti had changed. He appeared to have crossed an invisible border. He was now in enemy territory:

> Once a front line in a district of Ulster immigrants and their grandchildren, the Piggeries look across to Everton Brow and Everton Road, Orange Protestant territory, where the slogans are '1690', 'Orange Order Rules' and 'Here to Stay, UDA'. In a daring raid, someone has added a few IRA slogans here too.[122]

Despite the apparent decline in sectarianism, in certain areas of the city the walls were littered with graffiti of a nature that suggested otherwise. For

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[119] Interview with John Stoddart, 16/09/2015, p. 7
[120] Liverpool Graffiti: Delta Fuck Off, The Pies The Pies… <http://liverpoolcultureblog.co.uk/2009/04/liverpool-graffiti-delta-fuck-off-the-pies-the-pies/> [Accessed 18/12/2015]
[121] Hill, *Out of His Skin*, p. 104
[122] Kerridge, 'City of Dreadful Flats'

Paul Du Noyer, this apparent contradiction can be easily dismissed. Sectarianism, he suggests, 'has declined steadily and nowadays it rarely gets past the graffiti stage.'[123] However, the assertion that sectarianism *rarely gets past* graffiti undermines the power and symbolism of the practice. On the contrary, that a sub-section of Liverpool's endemic graffiti would be devoted solely to religious slogans and, in some cases, political and ethno-religious positioning with regards to the on-going conflict in Northern Ireland is significant. Whereas postwar redevelopment had largely destroyed the embedded religious ghettos of interwar Liverpool, the new material landscape of high-rise flats, maisonettes and estates created opportunities for a different, more sustained type of conflict. Graffiti was ephemeral in nature, yet as a collective whole it nevertheless presented something more permanent than the episodic claims of possession made by marching cultures. Like parading, however, it points towards a wider sense of identity that remained intricately tied to notions of denomination, landscape, territory and community and, in many regards, the geography of religious graffiti followed remarkably similar patterns to that of the temporary flashpoints brought about by parading.

The links between graffiti and identity are seldom explored outside of cultural geographies and social archaeologies and, despite David Lindsey and Robin Kearns' assertion that the topic justifies greater interest from those concerned with the social geography of the city, attention from previous historical studies has been minimal.[124] This apparent lack of attention stems from two significant points. Firstly, graffiti is a notoriously difficult source to pin down; ethereal and transient, it is often written over, weathered or whitewashed nearly as soon as it is brought into existence. Secondly, official discourses on the city, by portraying graffiti as an illicit act, homogenise a wide variety of practice under the criminal heading of the vandal. Building on Tim Cresswell's understandings – that graffiti is 'a mobile and temporary set of meanings which insert themselves into the interstices of the formal structure of the city' – graffiti can effectively highlight the differing conceptions of space

[123] Du Noyer, *Liverpool: Wondrous Place*, pp. 54-55
[124] D. Lindsey and G. Kearns, 'The Writing's on the Wall: Graffiti, Territory and Urban Space in Auckland', *New Zealand Geographer*, 50.2 (1994), p. 12

held by local government and inner city communities.[125] If the forces that portray graffiti as criminal are, in De Certeau's words, the panoptic powers of modernity striving for knowledge and order, then graffiti becomes a tactical intervention that reshapes the significance and meaning of the urban environment.

Graffiti is, moreover, inherently connected to the social and material space of the city. Orengo and Robinson's studies have demonstrated that certain physical arrangements provide favourable conditions for the appearance of graffiti.[126] Likewise, in their seminal study of 1970s Philadelphia, Ley and Cybriwsky suggested that the occurrence of graffiti 'manifests the distribution of various social attitudes and imitates subsequent behaviour in space.'[127] The precise *where* of graffiti is therefore illustrative of a much wider social picture and questions surrounding the nature of space and place – of access, of security and belonging, of insecurity and exclusion – often gain material weight through graffiti. For example, Lorri Nandrea has theorised that the practice embodies the 'very concept of space as something that can be conquered, taken over, defended as one's own…keeping alive a politics of space and claiming territories by marking out physical boundaries.'[128] Graffiti is therefore intricately tied to both the materiality of the city and to more abstract social geographies via notions of ownership and territory. As a performative act of identification, religious graffiti was illustrative of the religious divides that continued to define Liverpool's inner city.

The evidence used here derives from a mixture of personal memories, media commentary and photographic evidence in which graffiti may be the subject or has, by lucky coincidence, found its way into the shot, hidden in plain

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[125] T. Cresswell, 'The Crucial "Where" of Graffiti: A Geographical Analysis of Reactions to Graffiti in New York', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 10.3 (1992), p. 337

[126] H. Orengo and D. Robinson, 'Contemporary Engagements within Corridors of the Past: Temporal Elasticity, Graffiti and the Materiality of St Rock Street, Barcelona', *Journal of Material Culture*, 13.3 (2008), p. 271

[127] D. Ley and R. Cybriwsky, 'Urban Graffiti as Territorial Markers', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 64.4 (1974), p. 491

[128] L. Nandrea, '"Graffiti Taught Me Everything I Know About Space": Urban Fronts and Borders', *Antipode*, 31.1 (1999), p. 113. See also L. McAtackney, 'Peace, Maintenance and Political Messages: The Significance of Walls During and After the Northern Irish 'Troubles'', *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 11.1 (2011), p. 78

sight. In doing so, this section borrows from theories of linguistics, reading and reception, positioning graffiti as a social field inside of which several relationally defined orientations, dispositions and attitudes can exist.[129] Both the writing and reading of graffiti are contextual practices, always contested and subject to differing interpretations. In essence, this section cannot claim graffiti accurately represents the views of the whole community but can – by stressing patterns in its geographical arrangement, linguistic correlation and adoption at (or reaction to) official or semi-official community events – forward the idea that graffiti represents and constructs *certain* communal and religious identities. For some communities, religious graffiti was an inherent part *of place* that signified control, communal identity and territory in a landscape through which religious boundaries were constructed and normalised by graffiti. These geographies seldom fit onto political or administrative maps. The "Crisis Conference" of 1985, for example, failed to pick up on what graffiti *said*, or who was saying what. This, then, was a landscape of lived experience in which walls became the site of a discursive territorial conflict that utilised material culture to sustain claims to space.

Graffitied walls in Liverpool's inner city were intimately bound up in the construction of denominational group affiliation and quickly established to readers whose territory they were in. They simultaneously acted as material and symbolic barriers that allowed communities to maintain their identity, but also to exclude alternative perspectives and parallel narratives. The confusing and labyrinthine landscape of redevelopment provided plentiful opportunity and, by writing a variety of religious slogans across inner city walls, individuals could signify their identification to a certain cause. John, for example, suggested:

[129] See A. Brighenti, 'At the Wall: Graffiti Writers, Urban Territoriality, and the Public Domain', *Space and Culture*, 13.3 (2010), p. 316. For reception theory, de Certeau suggested that 'readers/users' carry out operations on their own, meaning that the circulation of cultural representations reveals little about their perception, use and opinion on behalf of their readers/users. See de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. xiii; H. Kellner, 'Language and Historical Representation' in K. Jenkins (ed.), *The Postmodern History Reader* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 127-138

Image 2.15 – Catholic graffiti on Woodstock Gardens, Scotland Road (late 1960s)

> 'I think the reasons why they did it were religious. But as in belonging to their tribe, so to speak.'[130]

The brutalist concrete surface of Canterbury Heights, meant to symbolise a new age of urban modernity, was instead appropriated as a symbol of more traditional religious identity. Religious graffiti was most prevalent in the city's interwar tenements that, until the mid-1980s, formed a ring around the city centre. For example, in Image 2.15, residents had marked out Woodstock Gardens as overwhelmingly Catholic, even demonstrating an admirable knowledge of Latin by adorning the sidewall with "GOD BLESS OUR POPE – THE VICAR OF CHRIST – DEO GRATIAS – PRAY FOR REBELS". Also present was a crucifix, the symbolism of which John remembered well:

> The iconography of it all was quite profound. It would be crucifixes sprayed outside of churches and things like that.[131]

In this case, graffiti provided the link that coupled the physical space of the tenement with a symbolic or iconographic attachment to Catholicism (and,

[130] Interview with John Stoddart, 16/09/2015, p. 15
[131] *Ibid*, p. 13

Image 2.16 – 'God Bless Our Pope' mural, St Andrew's Street (1967)

through the allusion to rebels, Irish republicanism), thereby triggering feelings of inclusion or exclusion as a result. In a similar fashion, St Andrew's Gardens celebrated the opening of the city's Metropolitan Cathedral by decorating their tenement's wall with an ornate piece of graffiti that proclaimed "GOD BLESS OUR POPE", displayed in Image 2.16. Used as decoration for the Gardens' communal celebration, it essentially normalised graffiti's role as a way of showcasing religious faith. Such a collective act of community spirit could hardly be viewed as a criminal act. Instead, graffiti was here mobilised as a semi-official method of displaying identity.

Likewise, areas designated as Protestant declared allegiances through graffiti, and often in reaction to official discourses of ecumenism. For example, Ronnie, an employee of Liverpool Mutual Housing Trust, remembered a large slogan being painted over the entrance to Sussex Gardens in Toxteth in the run up to the Pope's visit:

> "The Prince of Rome Shall Not Enter These Portals". I doubt he had plans to, but the message was fairly clear.[132]

Via the use of graffiti, Sussex Gardens formed a territorial stronghold for Protestantism that, in reaction to the increasing number of Catholic symbols, declared its opposition to the Pope's visit. Clearly then, graffiti was used as a tool of displaying identity and, moreover, this was often done in relation to the perceived "other" from across the denominational divide.

Graffiti did not merely provide a stage onto which existing identities could be performed. The perilous act of writing from the roof of Canterbury Heights's fourteenth floor points to a desire to fashion and galvanise an audience. Reactions to graffiti are never inert, and nor are identities unchanging or uncritical. Instead, graffiti intervened in the process of identification, 'assuming, yet simultaneously fashioning, audiences', in the words of Julie Peteet.[133] In her studies of political graffiti on the West Bank, Peteet demonstrated how graffiti's 'mere appearance gave rise to arenas of contest in which they were a vehicle or agent of power.'[134] Orengo is inclined to agree, suggesting that graffiti does more than simply signify or reflect social actions, but 'actively intervenes within and 'affects' contested social relations.'[135] In this regard, graffiti proved to be both a means and an end, its very presence a reflection of existing characteristics that simultaneously strengthened, altered or hardened religious identities. For example, Catholic graffiti was more likely to appear in "Catholic areas", but once present it further bolstered existing notions of territoriality, thereby promoting further identification.

The allusion to a perceived "other" is highly important. As well as being used to recognise and celebrate continuing religious enclaves and to demarcate known territories, graffiti was used in an attempt to proactively claim contested

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[132] In Liverpool, Along Park Road <https://asenseofplaceblog.wordpress.com/2015/02/21/in-liverpool-along-park-road/> [Accessed on 21/12/2015]
[133] J. Peteet, 'The Writing on the Walls: The Graffiti of the Intifada', *Cultural Anthropology*, 11.2 (1996), p. 151
[134] *Ibid*, p. 140
[135] Orengo and Robinson, 'Contemporary Engagements within Corridors of the Past', p.283

space.[136] Along interface areas like Everton's Netherfield Road, graffiti, in attempting to outline perceived boundaries in the landscape, became a communicative element in a contest over the meaning and ownership of place. Naturally, it was around the areas of ambiguity where the most aggressive or confrontational graffiti could be found. The daring raids that had successfully managed to emplace pro-IRA graffiti amongst the Orange and Loyalist scrawls in the reports of Kerridge not only hinted at a continuing conversation between competing factions, but their desire to conquer space and imbue it with a homogenous identity. Declarations of support for the IRA or the UDF further suggested that border areas tapped into the strongest feelings of sectarianism.

In this sense, graffiti found itself weaponized in contests over place definition. For Kerridge, the city's religious fault line remained Netherfield Road – a point well remembered by many interviewees. Maria, growing up in the area during the 1960s, suggested that:

We were predominantly Catholic where we were because we had the

Image 2.17 – Religious graffiti along the wall of Netherfield Brow, Netherfield Road (early 1970s)

[136] For Northern Irish context, see McAtackney, 'Peace, Maintenance and Political Messages, p. 88

> Friary and SFX. Any further up Netherfield Road was Protestant.[137]

If tensions flared when Orange parades passed beyond Netherfield Road and into Shaw Street, then graffiti became a regular sight at the point where the former became the latter. For example, as a teacher arriving in Liverpool in 1967, Gerry Cordon remembered 'being taken aback by…the 'No Popery' and 'LOL' slogans painted on walls along Netherfield Road.'[138] Similar scrawls can be seen in Image 2.17, taken in 1971. Homage to the Orange Lodge can be found in the shortened form of "LOL" and only partially visible is the beginning of "GOD BLESS". When posted on *Inacityliving* some forty-three years later, the image still sparked territorial claims, with one user assertively commenting that 'it would not say pope and I do remember it very well…if it was neddy road it would have been our queen.'[139] Wedged in between the graffiti is a poster urging locals to "VOTE PROTESTANT BOARDMAN" – a Protestant candidate standing in that year's local elections.

Eleven years later and only a few hundred metres up the road, David Taylor, a reporter for the *Spectator*, came across the similarly contested space of Shaw Street. Passing a local Catholic School, Taylor noticed how the walls were 'plastered with Protestant graffiti: '1690', 'King Billy Lives'.'[140] The timing of Taylor's visit would prove crucial – he was writing just two months after the Papal visit, and, in the run up to the event, swathes of the inner city became embroiled in what the *Pictorial* described as the 'anti-papal paint war.'[141] This was a time when both sides became increasingly active. John, for example, remembers the very public nature of Catholic celebration:

> When the Pope came, swathes of the city became full of Catholic iconography.[142]

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[137] Interview with Maria O'Rourke, 11/09/2015, p. 5
[138] Cilla and Sixties Liverpool: Recreation of a Mythical City <https://gerryco23.wordpress.com/2014/09/29/cilla-and-sixties-liverpool-recreation-of-a-mythical-city/> [Accessed on 20/12/2015]
[139] Photograph posted to Liverpool Inacityliving, Netherfield Road North South Junction <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=4786332941740&set=gm.474066536000343&type=3&theater> [Accessed on 23/08/2017]
[140] D. Taylor, 'Summer in Toxteth', *Spectator*, 16th July 1982
[141] *Catholic Pictorial*, 18th April 1982
[142] Interview with John Stoddart, 16/09/2015, pp. 13-14

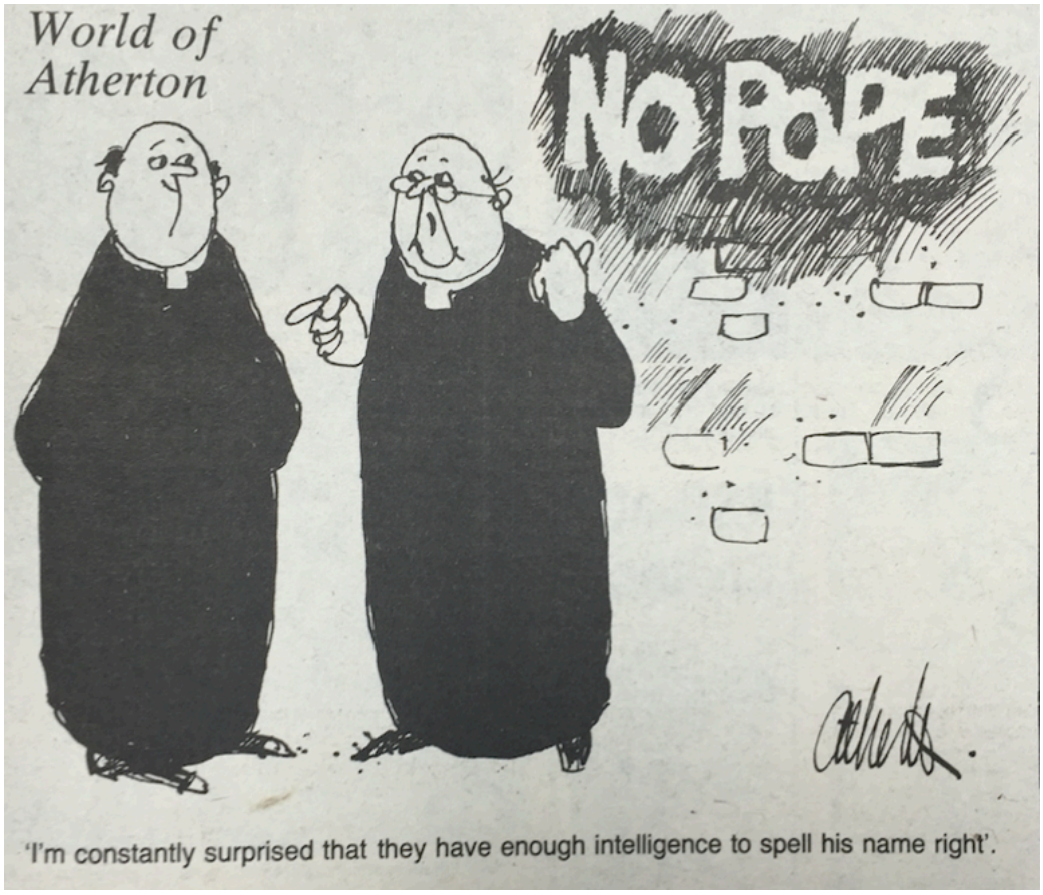

Image 2.18 – Cartoon making light of the city's sectarian graffiti (1982)

Indeed, in the weeks leading up to the Pope's visit, the *Pictorial* would find itself increasingly covering this graffiti war, splitting its reaction between light-hearted humour and sober criticism. For example, the cartoon displayed in Image 2.18 jokingly makes reference to the rash of anti-Papal graffiti that littered certain parts of the city. However, the tone was much more serious when it was discovered that the boundary walls of St Michael's Anglican parish in Garston, which counted Orange Lodge members in its congregation, 'were whitewashed with the words 'Long live the Pope'', as witnessed in Image 2.19.[143] The Reverend of St Michael's rather unconvincingly 'denied that the demonstration was a direct backlash to any Orange Lodge protest from his own parish.'[144]

[143] *Catholic Pictorial*, 18th April 1982
[144] *Ibid*

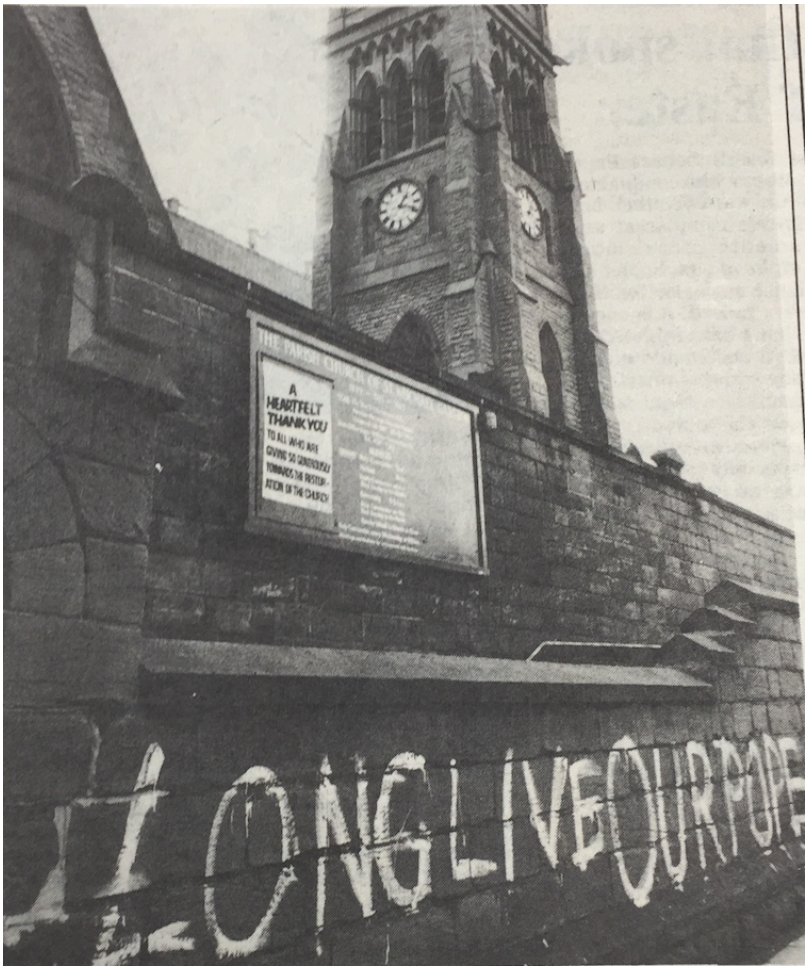

Image 2.19 – Catholic graffiti scrawled across St Michael's Anglican Parish in Garston (1982)

The suggestion that a conversation was taking place is a highly salient one and goes beyond the crass defacement of one another's property. For example, the daring vandals of the Piggeries made certain that their enormous slogans faced out onto the interface, up the hill and towards traditional Orange territory. Lynn Ventre, then a child living in one of the Piggeries in the early 1970s, remembers:

> One time a gang of us went up and onto the roof. We had paint and were leaning over the side painting bad things about King Billy and the Orange Lodge. I didn't know any better at the time.[145]

These scrawls utilised the height of the tower block to send a message, their primary function being to project solidarity and stake out territorial identities

[145] Online Interview with Lynn Ventre, 02/09/2015

across the space of the inner city. In short, they were designed to be *read*, and the following section will explore the cultural and linguistic nuances of *how* religious graffiti in Liverpool was consumed by the active users who made up the inner city community.

A Linguistic Analysis of Religious Graffiti

So far, the analysis of Liverpool's religious graffiti has been largely material – interested in its physical positioning and the significance of this in relation to notions of place, territory and identity. While the outright physicality of religious graffiti made bold interventions on the landscape, there also existed a range of immaterial aspects that point towards strong communal identities based on denomination and religious politics.

The choice of language used in graffiti slogans proves illuminating. Language is, of course, rooted in the social and cultural conditions of its production and reception, and that religious graffiti in Liverpool followed a strong linguistic pattern is highly significant. Commentaries, photographs and oral testimonies are able to reduce what was a vast and sprawling landscape of religious graffiti to a small selection of choice phrases, usually in relation to papism ("God Bless Our Pope"), Orangeism ("No Surrender", "1690") and the on-going Troubles in Northern Ireland ("UDA, Here To Stay", "Smash the IRA"). In analysing the linguistic and symbolic effects of graffiti, Brighenti has usefully applied Pierre Bourdieu's notion of a field of cultural production. By nominating the phenomena that are relevant and visible, 'language plays a crucial role in the definition of a social field' and any deviation or fluctuation from these patterns 'are symptomatic signs of weakness in the constitution of a specific field.'[146] That religious graffiti in Liverpool followed so strong a linguistic pattern suggests that religious identities remained robust and cohesive.

A close analysis of these phrases demonstrates a high level of linguistic competency between the speaker and the audience. Within Bourdieu's linguistic habitus – the cultural propensity to say particular things – exists linguistic

[146] Brighenti, 'Graffiti Writers, Urban Territoriality, and the Public Domain', p. 316. See also P. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Policy, 1993)

competencies and the social capacity to use that competence to good effect. Take the example of Image 2.16, St Andrew's Gardens' "God Bless Our Pope" mural, a piece in celebration of the opening of the Cathedral, despite the Pope not attending. In this case the slogan may be taken to assume much more than it actually says; a ritual phrase symbolic of a wide range of social, cultural and historic issues and understandings based upon an implicit and assumed knowledge between the writer and the audience. "God Bless Our Pope" expressed a communal solidarity way beyond its literal meaning (much like the equally ambiguous "No Surrender" in Loyalist terms), and examples such as this – with little to no linguistic fluctuation – display a high level of linguistic competence among the religious communities of the inner city.

Reaction – or lack of it – to religious graffiti is further illustrative of its symbolic power. In his seminal study of the Kabyle household, Bourdieu linked the everyday ordering of space to the structuring of experience, direct action and to the construction of what is assumed to be normal, natural or unquestioned.[147] In a similar vein, Cresswell's study of New York graffiti illustrated that reactions are heavily influenced by the assumed and taken-for-granted attributes of place. For Cresswell, 'reactions to transgressions are implicated in the creation and reproduction of places', inadvertently highlighting what was perceived to be common sense in the first place.[148] Unlike 1970s New York, in which discourses of disorder and breakdown developed that highlighted a normative geography of order and control, several interviewees spoke of graffiti in a matter-of-fact manner that illustrated its mundanity. For example, John recalled that:

> That's what I used to see. Religious graffiti was almost commonplace…I should have taken more pictures of it, but it was *so* commonplace you almost didn't read it like you'd read it now…it was a totally normal part of the landscape.[149]

[147] P. Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Cambridge: Polity, 1990), pp. 271-284
[148] Cresswell, 'The Crucial "Where" of Graffiti', p. 329
[149] Interview with John Stoddart, 16/09/2015, pp. 13-15

For many, then, the religious scrawls that dotted the landscape were seen to be an unquestioned, natural part of their area – an inherent part of the normative geography of inner city Liverpool. Indeed, few found religious graffiti to be *out of place* and few questioned *why* it was present – a reaction that suggests that religious symbolism and identity was deeply embedded and normalised across the landscape of Liverpool.

Conclusion

John's peculiar memory of a landscape of pubs and clubs riven by denominational affiliation highlights the continuing importance of religious identity to everyday life in Liverpool, and how profoundly entrenched it remained in certain inner city spaces. John Hamilton's surprising remark to the *New Statesman and Society* – 'you're in your communities and you don't mix' – should, therefore, be analysed with more due care and attention than it first appears to deserve. In work, leisure and in the chance everyday encounters that define urban life, Protestants and Catholics *did* mix. Either unaware or unwilling to take religion into account in the modern (and secular) future being created, urban planners smashed the entrenched religious ghettos, whereas patterns of institutional religious decline in the city largely adhere to wider national trends. Moreover, sectarian politics and identities would become progressively less important as Liverpool's precipitous economic decline unfolded. Hardship and unemployment on such a scale seldom discriminated on account of denomination and, suddenly, many in the city found more over which to unite than divide.

However, longstanding communal histories and the ingrained identities that accompany this proved slower to adjust. Their afterglow is clearly visible long after comprehensive renewal schemes and catastrophic levels of urban decline. Religion remained a flag to wave, a neighbourhood to protect or a message to scrawl across the walls of the buildings supposed to lay sectarian demons to rest. Ritual parading continued to stoke tribal affiliations by allowing Loyalism, Orangeism and associated brands of Protestantism a visible space within the inner city, a space from which Catholic communities felt excluded. The reactions that certain parade routes sparked exemplify how neighbourhoods were viewed; parading seemed an intimate part of some streets, would pass uneasily through others, and in certain areas was categorically out of place. That this negotiation remained so delicate, so contested, is illustrative of how religion continued to be a frame of reference through which to view the mundane, everyday geography of the city. Likewise, graffiti helped to establish religious place identities through the demarcation of

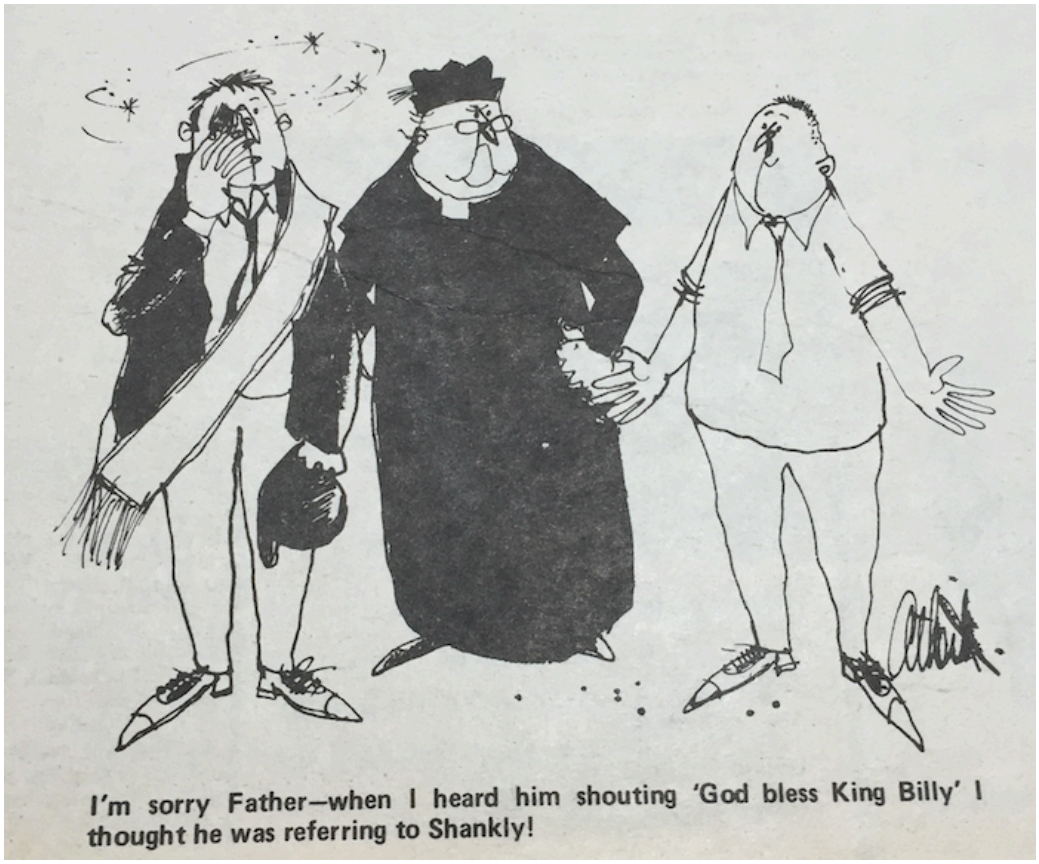

Image 2.20 – Cartoon depicting the crossover between religion and football (1971)

territory, and was adopted into disputes over place identity when this was unclear or contested. It provided a more permanent, if less conspicuous, map of the city's religious boundaries than episodic marching. Liverpool's inner city, then, was a place where sectarian wounds *remained open* during the long process of healing, a carrier of intense religious messages, symbols and meaning that, by the mid-1980s, looked thoroughly out of step with the expectations of a secular society.

That these practices occurred in spite of significant material change and social upheaval and outside of the boundaries of institutional religion poses important questions about both the nature of faith and identity in modern Britain and the role of the inner city as an important venue in which these issues unfolded. Evidence like this sits uneasily with the view of postwar Britain as somewhere that was losing its religion. Whereas Liverpool's sectarian nature certainly stands as exceptional in an English context, similar parading cultures existed across Northern Ireland and Scotland, and smaller examples are apparent in cities like London, Manchester, Salford, Bolton and Preston, as well

as places further afield such as Toronto and Adelaide. As such, a wider history of religious identity, actualised and given material and cultural weight through the space of the inner city, appears to lie just beneath the surface, running simultaneous with and alongside more established histories of secularisation. In the midst of disintegration, however, a new religion was undoubtedly emerging. Image 2.20, a 1971 cartoon from the *Catholic Pictorial*, playfully demonstrates the porous boundaries between football and religion. The success of Liverpool's principal football clubs, Liverpool FC and Everton FC, during this period was unprecedented at a local or national scale. Football was big business on Merseyside, generating much needed pride and offering an escape from the daily realities of urban decline for thousands across the city. As institutional religious organisations faded into the backdrop, football stepped forward to fill the vacuum and the congregations who worshipped at the churches of Anfield and Goodison Park brought with them their own unique set of questions, concerns and experiences.

Chapter Three – A Post-Industrial Agora: Disorder, Culture and the Football Stadium

Placing the Stadium within the Inner City

As a teenager during the late 1970s, Dave Hewitson, supporter of Liverpool FC and a regular in the Anfield Road End, noted how his section of the stadium had become swept up in the latest fashion trend. Skinny jeans, a wedge haircut and rare European sports brands were becoming a ubiquitous sight on the terraces. For Dave, 'the match was becoming a fashion catwalk. It was a place where people were measured by the cut of their cloth.'[1] At around the same time, Colin Ward, a young Arsenal fan of around the same age, travelled to Anfield to watch the first leg of the League Cup semi-final against Liverpool in February 1978. However, as he left the Anfield Road, the same place that Dave called home, a disappointing result was to be the least of Colin's worries. Getting safely back to Lime Street Station proved far more troublesome. In his memoir, Colin recalled the chaotic scene that followed. The road 'looked dark and forbidding', with rows of terraced houses 'silhouetted against the night sky by the one remaining street lamp that had not been smashed.' Hearing a roar, Colin noticed the supporters in front of him turn to run with 'fear and panic on their faces.' Colin ran 'straight through a hedge into a front garden and then cleared two more gardens…I was so frightened I could hardly breathe, let alone think…I decided to strike out on my own…I just kept walking and miraculously, no one hit me.'[2]

Dave and Colin's experiences could not have been more different. For one, the stadium was an affective and productive site of cultural relations, infused with notions of kinship and belonging. For the other, the stadium was a point of disorder, fear and conflict. This chapter retraces the pronounced and often contradictory changes that football made to life in the inner city. In doing so, it demonstrates how the stadium constructed and delineated identities and behaviours, remaining a productive site of working-class culture and practice

[1] D. Hewitson, *The Liverpool Boys are in Town: The Birth of Terrace Culture* (Kindle Edition: Dave Hewitson, 2008), p. 31
[2] C. Ward, *Steaming In: The Classic Account of Life on the Football Terraces* (London: Simon & Schuster, 1989), pp. 77-78

despite significant urban redevelopment and economic decline that to many commentators left the surrounding areas looking lifeless. Much like the agora of ancient Greek city-states – sites of assembly that represented a central social, cultural and sporting public space – it became a place of meeting, sociability and a creative point of cultural exchange. Crucially, these cultures were overwhelmingly white, working class and masculine and just as the stadium proved inclusive for some, for others it was a liminal and exclusionary space, notably along the lines of race and gender. At the same time, those wishing to engage in disorder found that renewal and decline had left a muddled landscape amenable to clashes between opposing spectators. In utilising a variety of militaristic metaphors, disorderly practices, just like Orange Order parades, created temporary atmospheres of danger and fear that altered how the inner city was perceived, regulated and policed.

The sociocultural characteristics of the stadium are an under-researched aspect of the postwar city.[3] For example, throughout the entirety of Nikolaus Pevsner's gargantuan *Buildings of England* series, passing reference is made only to Wembley and Hillsborough. Walking through Liverpool, Pevsner passed its stadiums, the inner city's largest structures, without comment. Whereas Simon Inglis's *Football Grounds of England and Wales* amounts to a comprehensive corrective, a reductionist architectural perspective means it fails to take account the stadium's wider social, cultural and discursive qualities.[4] As sites capable of regularly attracting thousands of spectators to a concentrated location, Sybille Frank and Silke Steets believe that focusing on the cultural meanings of the stadium helps to draw conclusions about the everyday standards of society.[5] Stadiums, then, are not merely the location for the passive consumption of spectacle, but are defined by narrative and discursive qualities much wider than their basic architecture would suggest; an

[3] Excellent studies do, however, exist. See A. Davies, 'Football and Sectarianism in Glasgow during the 1920s and 1930s', *Irish Historical Studies*, 35.138 (2006), pp. 200-219; E. Dunning, P. Murphy and J. Williams, *The Roots of Football Hooliganism: An Historical and Sociological Study* (London: Routledge, 1988); Jerram, *Streetlife*, pp. 187-200; N. Taylor, 'Football Hooliganism as Collective Violence: Explaining Variance in Britain Through Interpersonal Boundaries, 1863-1989', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 28 (2011), pp. 1750-1771.
[4] S. Inglis, *The Football Grounds of England and Wales* (London: Willow, 1983)
[5] S. Frank and S. Steets, 'Introduction' in S. Frank and S. Steets (eds), *Stadium Worlds: Football, Space and Built Environment* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 2

inherent part of the social and cultural fabric of the city. To quote John Bale, whose study of the relationship between the stadium and urban space remains to be built upon in any sustained fashion, they were 'the true folk cathedrals of modern Britain.'[6]

Adopting a more holistic approach is also important because it was during this period that the stadium emerged as an arena in which discourses of inner city crisis could materialise. Driven by fears surrounding hooliganism from the mid-1960s onwards, stadiums were perceived as disorderly urban spaces in need of control and surveillance; subject to increasing legislative regulation that had tangible effects both within and outside of its boundaries. If legislation increasingly reflected the desire to inhibit movement within a problematic urban space, then it engendered a variety of perverse and unintended consequences. Those engaging in disruptive activities adapted to and evaded the stadium's disciplinary landscape, adopting a range of practices that were, in De Certeau's words, 'foreign to the "geographical" space of visual, panoptic, or theoretical constructions.'[7] This would have considerable reverberations for surrounding areas as disorder was exported out onto nearby streets. The stadium during this period, then, provides a succinct example of the anxieties that surrounded certain inner city spaces and the relationship between their governance, their materiality and their use.

If sport may be a useful prism through which to view wider sociocultural trends, then Liverpool provides an excellent case study. In his seminal 1968 account of the national sport, Arthur Hopcraft noted that 'more than any other English city, Liverpool experiences its hope and its shame through its football.'[8] In 1985, when asked if football mattered too much on Merseyside, council supremo Derek Hatton likened the question to 'asking if mice cared too much about cheese.'[9] As a collective cultural experience, astonishing success on the pitch was of heightened importance in a city with seldom little else to celebrate, and boasting two of the country's principal teams meant that league football

[6] J. Bale, *Sport, Space and the City* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 3
[7] de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 93
[8] A. Hopcraft, *The Football Man* (London: Aurum, 2006), p. 191
[9] Jack, 'The Best of Times, The Worst of Times', p. 16

was experienced on a near weekly basis.[10] This brought with it an immense flow of people through Liverpool's inner city, despite significant depopulation and a general national decline in attendances. For example, Merseyside Police estimated that the fifty-four fixtures hosted in 1978 attracted a total of 2,200,000 spectators, with average attendances totalling 46,400 at Anfield and 35,500 at Goodison.[11] Separated only by Stanley Park, the two stadiums provided monumental landmarks in the physical and mental geography of the inner city and, for away fans, the finishing line in a treacherous three-mile journey from Lime Street. This monumentality was evident to Inglis, who described Goodison as 'a gaunt cathedral among low terraced houses' and 'a dominating, but scarcely attractive structure.'[12] Of Anfield, Inglis depicted an 'enclosed, cavernous and claustrophobic' space, 'probably the most exhilarating, and at the same time, unnerving experience in English football.'[13]

Drawing upon a wide variety of sources – including media reports, sociologies, oral histories and memoirs – this chapter will illustrate how matchdays were experienced. In doing so, it grapples with arguably the most iconic folk devil of the last half-century, "the hooligan". A vague and ill-defined term obscured by significant levels of moral panic and stereotyped media representations, hooliganism (which is not, and has never been, a statutory crime in itself) covered a wide range of physical and verbal activities and had been part and parcel of organised football since the late nineteenth century.[14] This chapter does not seek to investigate its myriad causes – rooted in a complex mixture of socioeconomic, cultural and class-based dynamics – or suggest that its foundations can be found solely in the layout of the inner city.[15]

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[10] Between 1960 and 1990, the city amassed thirty-six domestic and European league and cup titles, *excluding* Charity Shields.

[11] Merseyside Police Authority, *Annual Report 1978*, p. 89; Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research, *Football and Football Hooliganism in Liverpool* (Leicester: Department of Sociology, Leicester University, 1987), p, 10

[12] Inglis, *The Football Grounds of England and Wales*, p. 197

[13] *Ibid*, pp. 192-194

[14] For an investigation into representations of the hooligan, see D. Bodin and L. Robène, 'Hooligans, Casuals, Independents: Decivilisation or Rationalisation of the Activity?', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 31.16 (2014), pp. 2013-2033. For a history of hooliganism see Dunning, Murphy and Williams, *The Roots of Football Hooliganism*, pp. 74-90

[15] For further discussion, see G. Armstrong, *Football Hooligans: Knowing the Score* (Oxford: Berg, 1998); E. Dunning, P. Murphy and J. Williams, *Football on Trial: Spectator Violence and Development in the Football World* (London: Routledge, 1990); R. Giulianotti, *Football: A*

Instead, it focuses instead on *how* such a phenomenon utilised certain urban spaces and subsequently altered perceptions of the city.

The emergence of moral panic narratives surrounding the hooligan are more likely to signify a decreasing tolerance for public displays of violence than a sudden increase in related behaviour. A 1978 Sports Council report, for example, commented on how it is 'remarkable, given the problems of contemporary Britain, that hooliganism has received so much attention.' The events, it suggested, are 'certainly dramatic, but the outcome in terms of people arrested and convicted, people hurt or property destroyed is negligible.[16] Academic and official sources distort the issue, with John Williams and Eugene Trivizas claiming that contemporary sociologies 'minimised hooliganism, on occasions, to the point of extinction', whereas official statistics reflect nothing more than the contextual contingencies of policing.[17] Arrests, they suggest, fell under a diverse range of offences and were dependent on 'the *convenience* rather than the appropriateness of the charge.'[18] Steve, a former police officer, neatly summarised this disjuncture:

> Say you've got dozens of people fighting, twelve bobbies, and I lock you up. I've taken you out, but there's only eleven bobbies now. Very often, there might have to be a bit of swift police justice administered.[19]

While these accounts undoubtedly skew the objective threat of hooliganism, their perspectives are important. Legislative changes to the regulation, policing and surveillance of the stadium-space and the inner city, not to mention hooligan identities themselves, were shaped by academic and official

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Sociology of the Global Game (Cambridge: Polity, 1999); R. Ingham, *Football Hooliganism: The Wider Context* (London: Inter-Action Imprint, 1978); Taylor, 'Football Hooliganism as Collective Violence', pp. 1750-1771

[16] Sports Council, *Public Disorder and Sporting Events: A Report by the Joint Panel of the Sports Council and the Social Science Research Council* (London: Sports Council, 1978), p. 32. See also P. Marsh, 'Football Hooliganism: Fact or Fiction?', *Journal of British Law and Society*, 4.2 (1977), pp. 256-259

[17] J. Williams, 'Football Hooliganism: Offences, Arrests and Violence – A Critical Note', *British Journal of Law and Society*, 7.1 (1980), p. 105

[18] *Ibid*, p. 106; E. Trivizas, 'Offences and Offenders in Football Crowd Disorders', *British Journal of Criminology*, 20.3 (1980), p. 279.

[19] Interview with Steve Melia, 09/09/2015, p. 24

discourses, which, in turn, had tangible consequences for inner city communities.

What these sources fail to do, however, is provide an insight into the lived experience of both orderly and disorderly spectators, a point upon which oral histories and fan memoirs can contribute. Pioneered in the late 1980s, the "hooligan memoir" genre now boasts well over a hundred publications from followers of over forty clubs.[20] This chapter focuses on Liverpool-based teams and a cross-section of others who describe their experiences as an away supporter.[21] Unashamedly boastful, highly narcissistic and refracted through a hyper-masculinised ego, these texts have an ambiguous relationship to fact, despite the authors' oft-repeated claim to "tell it like it is".[22] However, in recalling the fashions, peer group relations and urban surroundings of the period, some of these works are decidedly better than others, offering rich accounts of working-class life that transcend the simplistic tag of "hoolie-lit". Consequently, this chapter follows Steve Redhead's advice – who stresses that they 'feel 'truthful' in a way that many media reports, academic treatises and political current affairs discussions did not' – and treats them as 'oral histories of football, culture and modernity.'[23] That these texts *feel* truthful is important. In speaking to experience and to the symbolic categories through which reality is perceived, they provide a means of accessing the wider experiential features of spectatorship. Interestingly, the texts are replete with vivid descriptions of urban space. Geography and territory is one of their key features as even Jon Dart, their most vocal critic, admits that these memoirs highlight 'the roads

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[20] S. Redhead, 'The Firm: Towards a Study of 400 Football Gangs', *Sport in Society*, 18.3 (2015), p. 333

[21] N. Allt, *The Boys from the Mersey: The Story of the Annie Road End Crew, Footballs First Clobbered-up Mob* (Kindle Edition: Milo Books, 2011); Hewitson, *The Liverpool Boys are in Town*; A. Nicholls, *Scally: Confessions of a Category C Football Hooligan* (Kindle Edition: Milo Books, 2011); M. Francis and P. Walsh, *Guvnors: The Autobiography of a Football Hooligan Gang Leader* (Kindle Edition: Milo Books, 2010); I. Hough, *Perry Boys: The Casual Gangs of Manchester and Salford* (Kindle Edition: Milo Books, 2007); T. O'Neill, *Red Army General: Leading Britain's Biggest Hooligan Firm* (Kindle Edition: Milo Books, 2011); Ward, *Steaming In*.

[22] For a critique of the genre, see J. Dart, 'Confessional Tales from Former Football Hooligans: A Nostalgic, Narcissistic Wallow in Football Violence', *Soccer and Society*, 9.1 (2008), pp. 42-55

[23] S. Redhead, 'Emotional Hooligan: Post-Subcultural Research and the Histories of Britain's Football Gangs', *Entertainment and Sports Law Journal*, 5.2 (2007), p. 37; S. Redhead, 'Hit and Tell: A Review Essay on the Soccer Hooligan Memoir', *Soccer and Society*, 5.3 (2004), p. 394

down which they chased opposing firms, the pubs which they drank in or smashed up, and so on.'[24]

Moreover, previous approaches have ignored the strict subcultural landscape that these texts operate within – one grounded in respect and honour that shackles the author to a basic truth that then may be elaborated (or exaggerated) upon. An account completely removed from fact would severely dent the author's reputation, meaning that most of the key events within the text are at least rooted in fact and subsequently mediated through the hooligan's experience. For example, Manchester United supporter, Terry O'Neill, described the unlikely story of a train overshooting the platform of Edge Hill Station, leading to a large group of supporters walking along the tracks before clashing with Everton fans when emerging from the tunnels at Lime Street.[25] Remarkably, the following Monday the *Echo* reported that 'around 200 fans scrambled off a train after it missed Edge Hill Station, ignoring the dangers of live rails and oncoming high speed expresses and walking straight into a trouble-spot as hundreds of Everton fans were packed into Lime Street.'[26] Finally, these accounts are coloured by a strong sense of nostalgia that harks back to a mythic "golden age" of spectatorship. Williams, however, suggests that irrespective of their questionable groundings in reality, the mythologised football stories that are told and retold 'contribute to real local traditions which are still guarded and celebrated.'[27] That the city's stadiums were sites of an allegorical sense of unity and belonging is therefore important as these tales served to strengthen certain identities and experiences, regardless of the *actual* commonality of these encounters.

Finally, adopting the split in humanist geographer Yi-Fu Tuan's conceptions of emotional space – that of topophilia and topophobia – demonstrates how the rich cultures and practices surrounding the football

[24] Dart, 'Confessional Tales from Former Football Hooligans', p. 48
[25] O'Neill, *Red Army General*
[26] *Liverpool Echo*, 15th April 1985
[27] J. Williams, 'Kopites, Scallies and Liverpool Fan Cultures' in C. Long, J. Williams and S. Hopkins (eds), *Passing Rhythms: Liverpool FC and the Transformation of Football* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), p. 110

match actualised themselves across the surrounding landscape.[28] By facilitating the mass expression of carnivalesque collective identities while simultaneously making controversial, contested and militaristic imprints upon the urban form, matchday cultures bore many similarities to the religious parades. The football stadium could stimulate feelings of affection and attachment, or topophilia, as well as unease and fear, or topophobia. Section I investigates how the changing nature of football spectatorship, partly brought about by renewal programmes, led to increasing concerns regarding the unruly nature of stadium. It traces the legislative changes that aimed to instil order, and how, as the stadium increasingly became a focal point of policing, disorder spread beyond its confines and into surrounding inner city spaces, a process that led to militaristic visualisations of the city. Section II shifts the focus onto how the stadium stimulated a series of more positive emotions and, through the example of three distinct groups of supporters, demonstrates how such feelings were contingent upon the categories of race and gender. Scally subculture is used to demonstrate the stadium's productive cultural relations, before the analysis moves onto the experiences of more marginal groups; local black and female spectators, who found the stadium barred to varying degrees. Consequently, then, football periodically made drastic changes to the material and imaginative nature of the cityscape, fostered countless urban experiences based simultaneously around fear and affection and was therefore crucial to how understandings of inner city crisis were conceptualised.

[28] See Y. Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1974); Y. Tuan, *Landscapes of Fear* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1980)

Section I – Topophobia and the Landscape of Disorder

Violence within the Stadium

The mid-1960s was a period of growing unease regarding football stadiums. As a space seen to encourage and foster disorder, Pat Collins, writing for the *Football Monthly* in January 1964, appeared to sum up the mood by prophetically suggesting that 'fans appear an undisciplined mob, ripe for the cage – like zoo animals.'[29] Liverpool was often at the forefront of these anxieties and in November 1963 the *Daily Mirror* dubbed supporters on Merseyside 'the roughest, rowdiest rabble who watch British soccer.'[30] One year later, Goodison Park claimed the dubious accolade of witnessing a stoppage in play for reasons other than weather or pitch conditions for the first time in English league football. Everton, entertaining Leeds United, were down to ten men after Sandy Brown was dismissed in the fourth minute for punching an opposing player. Thirteen minutes later, the home side went behind to what would prove to be the winning goal. Chaotic scenes ensued, with the reaction amongst segments of the crowd vehement enough for the referee to halt proceedings in the thirty-eighth minute. Missiles had been thrown onto the pitch, scuffles had broken out and players had been spat at. One fan even invaded the pitch to remonstrate with Leeds's tough-tackling midfielder, Billy Bremner. According to the *Guardian*, the crowd was 'left to stew in its juice for a few minutes before an announcement that the referee…would abandon the match if more missiles were thrown.'[31] Upon the restart, rough play continued unabated, as, indeed, did the barrage of missiles. After the final whistle, mounted police were drafted in to disperse angry fans from the surrounding streets.[32]

The levels of violence on display shocked the public, though it hardly appeared to be a one-off. Just ten months previously, Goodison hosted a friendly match against Glasgow Rangers. A rowdy and ill-tempered affair, the *Daily Post* reported that:

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[29] P. Collins, 'You have been warned!', *Football Monthly*, January 1964
[30] *Daily Mirror*, 9th November 1963
[31] *Guardian*, 9th November 1964
[32] *Guardian*, 7th November 2014

> Everton officials, who had posted warning notices in the ground and included a further reminder in the club programme of the Football Association's displeasure at crowd conduct in earlier games, were dismayed to see bottles and other objects thrown onto the pitch.[33]

Scenes of this nature, also reported at Anfield, were a reflection of the changing nature of spectatorship and how such changes were driving fears regarding the breakdown of order in the inner city.[34] Renewal programmes and subsequent population shifts produced demographic changes to the composition of the football terrace and, for sociologists David Robins and Philip Cohen, the departure of the wartime generation of middle-aged working men, in many cases dispersed to outer estates, 'had opened up a space for kids on the terraces.' This, in turn, led to the development of "football gangs".[35] These loose affiliations of youth from disparate parts of the city, generally more vocal and aggressive in their support, were increasingly watching the game from a fixed location within the stadium. More often than not, they staked their claims to the terraces directly behind the goals, leading to the development of informal home and away "ends" in opposition to previous traditions that dictated swapping ends at half time. On Merseyside, it was Everton's Gwladys Street and Liverpool's Kop that assumed these mantles. Crucially, the changing make-up of the terraces, the growth of football gangs and the shifting nature of football spectatorship was seen to coalesce with the undisciplined space of the stadium to create significant problems.

The practice of staking out a home end heightened notions of territoriality. Combined with a lack of physical constraints within the stadium, the development of ends meant that certain areas became subject to attack or in need of defence. What developed was described by Robins and Cohen as 'a delicate system of allegiances…hence all the violent rituals of territory: taking

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[33] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 3rd December 1963. Everton fans had also recently thrown a dart at an opposing goalkeeper, a stone at an opposing manager, attacked the referee after the game and fought in the streets following two recent fixtures. D. A. Nye, *A Football Team and Its Public Image* (Thesis submitted in part-fulfilment of the requirements for the Diploma in Industrial Administration at Liverpool University, August 1964)

[34] During a match with Glasgow Celtic, police and ambulance men were reported to have faced a barrage of flying bottles. *Liverpool Echo*, 20th April 1966

[35] D. Robins and P. Cohen, *Knuckle Sandwich: Growing Up in the Working Class City* (London: Penguin, 1977), p. 133

the rival 'end', holding the home 'end', going up against rival supporters inside…of the ground.'[36] These violent rituals were on display during an F.A. Cup fourth round match between Everton and Millwall in February 1973, during which around fifty Millwall fans positioned themselves within the Gwladys Street in an attempt to "take" the home end. Such a provocative invasion of territory demanded a response and by kick-off a gang of around 200 Everton fans had left eleven seriously injured, four of whom sustained serious knife wounds.[37] One of the victims, seventeen-year-old Kevin Stoker, interviewed from his hospital bed the next day, framed the events within the intricate socio-spatial geography of the stadium:

> A lot of Everton supporters charged towards us. Some of ours tried to get at them. I turned away and felt a sharp pain in my back. There was no provocation. It was just an out and out attack because we were at their end of the ground.[38]

Stoker went on to describe the cache of weapons used to defend the Street End, including 'screwdrivers and a hatchet.'[39] Andy Nicholls, who witnessed the scenes as a young teenager, offers a similar explanation composed within territorial notions of defence; 'the Gwladys Street was the home end and was never taken. Only Millwall ever tried, and they paid dearly. They were not in our end for long.'[40]

The increasing attention paid to these unsavoury scenes led to concerted efforts to regulate the behaviour of unruly spectators. In 1980, Merseyside Police colourfully summarised the opinion of many by suggesting that:

> Even on their best behaviour football crowds are never going to sound or look like the parade on the lawns of Ascot. They will always have more vinegar than Chanel. The average fan is naturally tough and accustomed to a level of aggressive conduct in the everyday life of our

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[36] *Ibid*, p. 138
[37] *Daily Express*, 5th February 1973
[38] *Liverpool Echo*, 5th February 1973
[39] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 5th February 1973
[40] Nicholls, *Scally*

> large cities and conurbations; something which is probably little known on the cricket ground or the race course.[41]

As such, the stadium – and the 'naturally tough' spectators who frequented it – became subject to a series of changes. Specifically, it was the ease of *movement* that most disturbed, as opposing fans seeking face-to-face confrontation found few obstacles in their way. In May 1968, the Football Association and Minister for Sport Denis Howell established a working party on crowd behaviour. The subsequent *Lang Report*, delivered in November 1969, set the tone for the next two decades. Three key improvements were necessary: segregation, policing and surveillance. For Lang, visiting supporters 'should be kept away from those of the home club, as far as is practicable.'[42] In order to do this, Lang recommended the erection of barriers to prevent the public from changing ends and the dividing of standing enclosures into pens.[43] On occasions when trouble was expected, the Report urged clubs to 'substantially increase the police force available for duty.'[44] Finally, encouraged by early experiments into the use of CCTV – including those conducted by the Liverpool Commandos, further investigated in Chapter Five – Lang suggested that the technology could be of value within the stadium.[45]

Many of Lang's recommendations were made compulsory under the licensing system that accompanied the Safety of Sports Grounds Act 1975. The Act established a "Green Code" which framed the concept of safety around the regulation, separation and confinement of problematic working-class populations. It recommended that for a ground to be designated as legally safe it should divide terraces into self-contained sections, segregate home and away support and erect security fencing to separate spectators from the pitch.[46] By the mid-1970s physical barriers and pens were commonplace, whereas significant developments in CCTV were improving surveillance options. What

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[41] Merseyside Police Public Relations Department, *Merseyside Police*, c.1980 LRO HQ363.2094275 MER
[42] J. Lang, *Report of the Working Party on Crowd Behaviour at Football Matches* (London: HMSO, 1969), p. 7
[43] *Ibid*, pp. 6-8
[44] *Ibid*, p. 5
[45] *Ibid*, pp. 5-8
[46] Inglis, *The Football Grounds of England and Wales*, p. 36

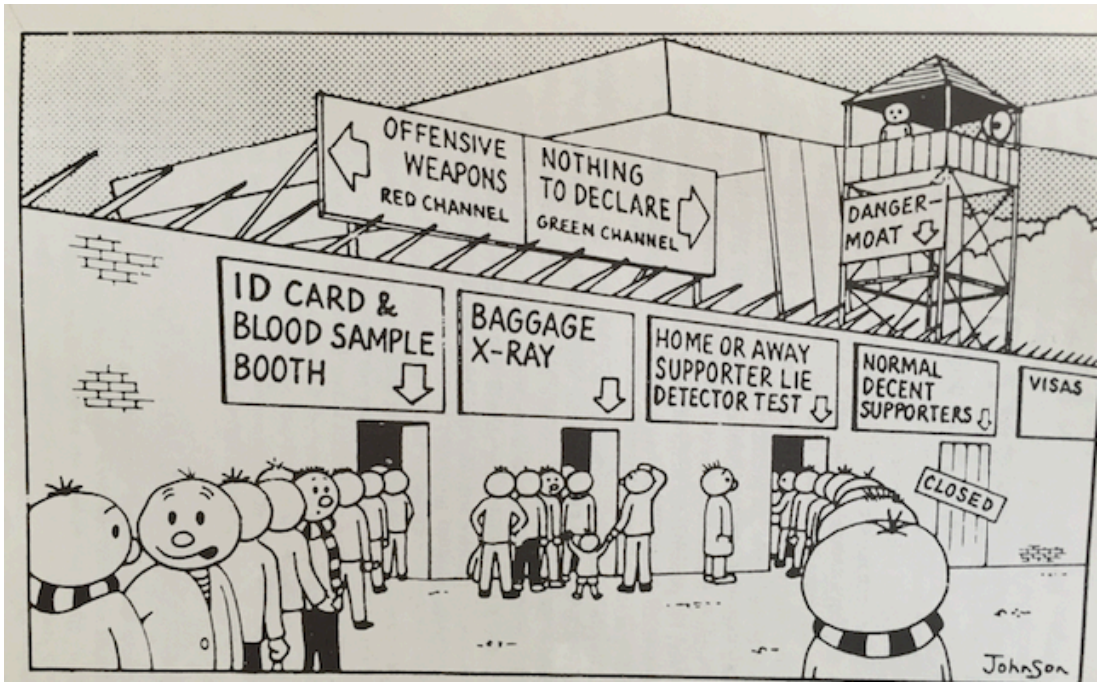

Image 3.1 – 'Fortress Football', cartoon remarking on the militarisation of the stadium (1989)

was once a relatively unregulated space bore increasing resemblance to a Foucauldian panopticon; 'enclosed and segmented, in which individuals are inserted in a fixed place, in which the slightest movements are supervised, in which all events are recorded.'[47] One American observer in 1980 even noted that 'guards, barbed wire fences and escape tunnels are deemed necessary…reminding those from the other side of the Atlantic of a security system more suitable to a prison.'[48] The scene was only half parodied in Image 3.1, a cartoon published in national fanzine *When Saturday Comes*. Crucially, as will be explored in following chapters, changes taking place within the stadium that sought to control and regulate behaviour epitomised broader trends towards the micro-management of problematic urban spaces witnessed across the inner city as a whole. Therefore, the stadium was not only a site at which anxieties about urban decline manifested themselves, but was also the site in which many of the proposed solutions were trialled.

By and large, Liverpool's stadiums followed the trend of ramping up

[47] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 197

[48] W. Ahrens, 'Playing with Aggression' in J. Cherfas and R. Lewin (eds), *Not Work Alone* (London: Temple Smith, 1980), quoted from Bale, *Sport, Space and the City*, p. 52. Popplewell held similar views, likening the stadium to a medieval fortress. See Justice Popplewell, *Committee of Inquiry into Crowd Safety and Control at Sports Grounds: Interim Report* (London: HMSO, 1985), p. 41

security and segregation. In August 1972, the *Observer* reported that Liverpool Police had installed 'steel shackles in the detention rooms at the city's two First Division football grounds', though a police spokesperson euphemistically described them as 'restraining rings.'[49] By 1975, away fans entering Anfield were now penned behind what Hewitson described as a 'five-foot-high wall of tubular steel' in the Anfield Road End, 'with a three foot gap in between for police officers to patrol.'[50] By 1977, perimeter fencing had been erected to stop pitch invasions, with similar precautions taken at Goodison.[51] Finally, in 1985 Merseyside Police boasted that improved CCTV systems meant that high-quality colour images could be 'printed and handed to police at [stadium] exits in seconds for immediate identification.'[52]

By eliminating the tradition of swapping ends and cutting down on face-to-face confrontation, the introduction of fencing, pens and surveillance techniques made mass terrace battles a thing of the past. However, as Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti have suggested, segregation was accompanied by series of dysfunctional and unforeseen consequences.[53] The introduction of these measures failed to quell disorderly activities as the agentic practices of hooligans subverted and evaded the new disciplinary landscape. Firstly, segregation merely had the effect of concentrating disorder *within* certain sections. Prompted by fears around youth gangs, Lang had specifically endorsed 'the segregation of unaccompanied schoolchildren from other spectators', a practice that had in fact long been employed at Anfield and Goodison.[54] Far from providing a sanctuary for younger supporters, the boy's pen – situated within the Kop and the corner of the Bullens Road and Gwladys Street stands – was recalled as a rowdy and violent place to be avoided at all costs. Nicholls, for example, described Goodison's pen as:

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[49] Observer, 27th August 1972
[50] Hewitson, *The Liverpool Boys are in Town*
[51] *Ibid*
[52] *Observer*, 1st September 1985
[53] G. Armstrong and R. Giulianotti, 'Avenues of Contestation, Football Hooligans Running and Ruling Urban Spaces', *Social Anthropology*, 10.2 (2002), p. 222
[54] Lang, *Working Party on Crowd Behaviour*, p. 7

> A den of iniquity…full of thieves, bullies, vandals and pickpockets. I went in there only once and it frightened me more than anything since. I always made sure I had enough money to avoid going in there again.[55]

If the pen was devised as a way of minimising the deviant effects of a disruptive group of spectators, it merely had the unintended consequence of concentrating the issue into a much smaller space that was to a large extent free from adult supervision. The pen became a law unto itself, and a source of considerable fear for many younger match-goers. Upon the Anfield pen's closure in 1978, the *Echo* suggested that it had 'virtually guaranteed safety due to the presence of two police officers in a segregated expanse of terracing', though safety from what and whom was never established.[56] Personal accounts tell a different story. Brian Burrows, attending his first matches at Goodison in the mid-1960s, recalled:

> I foolishly used to go into the boy's pen. It was nuts. It had all the scallies of Liverpool in there with knives, blackmailing and taking money off you.[57]

That theft was a common feature of the pen appeared to have even been tacitly acknowledged by the clubs themselves. Image 3.2, a stub for Everton's boys' pen from 1962, firmly warns the ticketholder to beware of pickpockets. Likewise, Eddie and Nicky, young Liverpool fans during the mid-1970s, recalled similar experiences. Nor was segregation foolproof, as climbing out of the pen became something of a rite of passage:

> You only went into the boys' pen if you could survive it! And to do that, you had to be cute, tough or as wide as the hills. Kids would rob your scarves and your sweets.

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[55] Nicholls, *Scally*. See also Interview with Tony Tighe, Everton Collection Oral History Recordings, LRO 796EFC/57/22. 'I remember going in for a famous Man UTD match in the 1960s. I was fourteen, so I was right on the edge of the age limit. I can remember being beaten up on my way out of the boy's pen, and I never went there after that.'

[56] *Liverpool Echo*, 19th August 1978

[57] Interview with Brian Burrows, Everton Collection Oral History Recordings, LRO 796EFC/57/3. See also Allt, *The Boys from the Mersey*, 'The boy's pen…was a fend for yourself type of place as you mingled with hundreds of other mad kids from every district of Liverpool.'

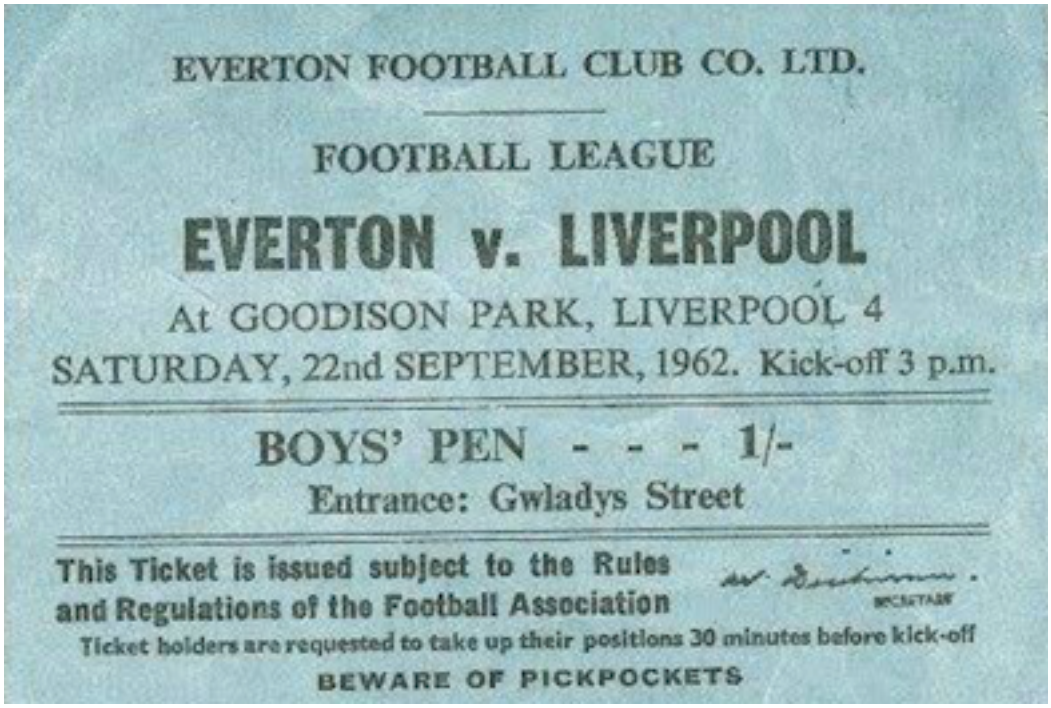

Image 3.2 – Ticket for Goodison Park's Boy's Pen, Everton v. Liverpool (1962)

> Kick off was quickly followed by a mass bunk-out of the Boys' Pen; a quick up and over the steel fence, followed by a graceful dive into the arms of the swaying Kop.[58]

Barriers and fencing alone could not, therefore, solve disorder. In fact, by compartmentalising the stadium, segregation had the ironic consequence of legitimising and demarcating territories with a greater strictness and clarity than spectators could have ever achieved on their own. With the likelihood of physical contact significantly diminished, displays of territory and acts of verbal or performative violence became *more* pronounced, safe in the knowledge that repercussions were unlikely. As Bodin and Robène have suggested, Lang's recommendations 'not only failed to prevent confrontations but also encouraged the territorialisation of the stands…helping to multiply the groups seeking to authenticate their territory.'[59] At Anfield and Goodison, like many other grounds around the country, Lang's changes caused a fundamental alteration in the stadium's socio-spatial dynamics. With home ends now virtually unassailable, the spaces of disorder were shifting. Those seeking

[58] Interview with Eddie Cotton, 27/07/2015, p. 17; Allt, *The Boys from the Mersey*. See also Interview with Dave Sinclair, 12/04/2016, p. 10.
[59] Bodin and Robène, 'Hooligans, Casuals, Independents', p. 2026

Image 3.3 – Bob Latchford beats Chelsea goalkeeper Peter Bonetti, with 'Please Refrain from Throwing Missiles' sign in the background (1978)

physical or verbal confrontation repositioned themselves as near as possible to the visitors. Hewitson, for example, suggests that 'by the late 70s the Kop was losing its charm. A nascent rival was emerging in the form of the Anfield Road End.'[60] Likewise at Goodison, Nicholls suggests that 'we were always in the Park End if there was going to be trouble.'[61]

Within the new landscape of discipline and segregation, rowdy fans were keen to exploit any weaknesses or blind spots. A Sports Council report from 1978 found that 'where physical contact is inhibited, the next best thing is contact via missile throwing.'[62] Already an issue at Goodison and Anfield, missiles continued into the post-Lang stadium. By the late 1970s prominent messages had been installed – including on Everton's Main Stand, as seen from Image 3.3 – asking fans to refrain. The message was, at best, only partially effective as Nicholls recalled that during certain matches 'golf balls, snooker balls, coins and darts would rain from end to end.'[63] Of particular notoriety were the "Anny Road Darts Team" who launched a variety of objects over fencing and into the away section, and whose impact can be witnessed in Images 3.4 and 3.5. Perhaps the most infamous example, however, occurred at Goodison Park in April 1985 during Liverpool's F.A. Cup semi-final with Manchester United in which both sets of fans threw an assortment of objects over the barriers. Two days later, a shocked Merseyside Police displayed what

[60] Hewitson, *The Liverpool Boys are in Town*. See also Allt, *The Boys from the Mersey*
[61] Nicholls, *Scally*
[62] Sports Council, *Public Disorder and Sporting Events*, p. 9
[63] Nicholls, *Scally*

Image 3.4 – Police escort a Tottenham fan with a dart in the neck past the Anfield Road Stand (1980)

Image 3.5 – Police escort a Manchester United fan away from the Anfield Road Stand after having a dart thrown at him (1980)

the *Echo* described as 'a terrifying arsenal of weapons…ranging from a lump of glass and a marble egg to nail-studded golf balls.'[64] The *Daily Post* would go on to report that 'among other items used as weapons during the game were keys, a metal lighter, batteries and a plug hole cover.'[65]

Not only did fences prove useless against a barrage of missiles but, with construction often poor, policing sparse and many standing no more than six-foot-high, they were, as the mass exodus from the boys' pen demonstrated, easily scaled if determined enough, as Allt's descriptions of a confrontation with Middlesbrough in the New Year of 1978 illustrate:

> Twenty or so jumped into the away end. Before long, seventy or eighty had sneaked over unnoticed. No matter what the police did, more and more kept making their way across the narrow divide.[66]

Segregation, then, was often inadequate, incomplete or easily eluded. Image 3.6, taken at Goodison in 1985, depicts a confrontation between fans who had been able to evade surveillance on the gate and pass into the home section unnoticed.

Image 3.6 – A confrontation between Everton and Manchester United fans in the Bullens Road stand (1985)

[64] *Liverpool Echo*, 15th April 1985
[65] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 16th April 1985
[66] Allt, *The Boys from the Mersey*

A lone policeman can be seen attempting to keep order. That face-to-face confrontation within the stadium remained possible was dramatically highlighted at Anfield in April 1985, as the *Daily Post* reported that three Manchester United fans had been hospitalised with knife wounds and a policeman injured following clashes inside of the ground.[67] Ticketed checks and surveillance along the entry gates were supposed to avoid scenes of this nature unfolding, though a feigned native accent or saying nothing at all could see away supporters pass through these obstacles easily enough. Moreover, segregation shifted disorder away from the terrace and towards more peripheral venues with less stringent levels of segregation and policing, such as toilets and food kiosks. For example, Nicholls recalled how:

> Underneath the wooden terrace were toilets and a refreshment area which…you were wise to avoid. It was mayhem down there and the police presence was minimal.[68]

Therefore, whilst considerable anxiety drove changes to the internal space of the stadium, it remained a highly territorialised site of confrontation throughout this period. Faced with a new landscape of segregation and policing, those seeking disorder adapted to their surroundings, displaying a series of agentic practices that undermined and evaded the new systems of surveillance. However, while disorder continued to function within the stadium, by the late 1970s it was undoubtedly being pushed to the margins. Of even greater significance were the effects these changes had on the external space of the inner city. Legislation focused on tackling disorder in the stadium had the unintended consequence of exporting it outwards, where it was, on the whole, more difficult to control. In doing so, hooligans, residents and the police superimposed onto the city a series of militarised geographies that transformed the area into a landscape of conflict and battle.

Violence beyond the Stadium

By 1977, both Liverpool and Everton had largely completed the installation of security measures within the stadium, including perimeter

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[67] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 1st April 1985
[68] Nicholls, *Scally*

fencing and physical barriers between home and away supporters. It was no coincidence then that in March 1977, the Anfield Tenants' Association called a meeting following 'an upsurge in trouble before and after the match.'[69] The 1976/77 and 1977/78 seasons were to witness a period of unprecedented trouble in the streets surrounding the grounds, and Anfield in particular. Street skirmishes between rival fans were, of course, nothing new. In 1970, Superintendent Carroll of the Liverpool and Bootle Constabulary suggested that the city's most common public order issue was that of 'football hooligans attacking supporters of the visiting teams and rampaging through the streets after the game.'[70] However, by the late 1970s the scale and increasing regularity of disorder was a significant source of annoyance for local communities. Colin Ward's introductory account of a cold February night in Liverpool is particularly poignant in this regard. Pushed beyond the confines of the stadium, those seeking disorder actively appropriated certain spaces as theatres for violent confrontations. In the decaying inner city, they found a landscape highly amenable to their intentions and although hooliganism attracted relatively small numbers – what Merseyside Police deemed 'an irresponsible lunatic minority' – their activities caused considerable distress for other spectators and local communities, periodically transforming the inner city into a battleground.[71]

Human geographer Rachel Woodward has suggested that the analysis of military geographies should focus on how concepts of militarism 'shape civilian space and social relations via military objectives, rationales and structures.'[72] Hooliganism provides an exemplar of how militarist geographies filtered into the material and symbolic geographies of the inner city, as both residents and spectators understood their surroundings through the metaphors of conflict and battle. For example, after Liverpool's 1977 fixture with Newcastle, the *Daily Post* reported that several streets around the ground had witnessed large mobs

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[69] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 8th March 1977

[70] J. Carroll, 'Task Force: The First Year', *Police Journal*, 43.10 (1970), p. 325

[71] Merseyside Police Authority, *Annual Report 1978*, p. 89

[72] R. Woodward, 'From Military Geography to Militarism's Geographies: Disciplinary Engagements with the Geographies of Militarism and Military Activities', *Progress in Human Geography*, 29.6 (2005), p. 721. See also J. Gold and G. Revill, *Landscapes of Defence* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2000); S. Graham, *Cities Under Siege* (London: Verso, 2011)

hurling bricks, breaking windows and damaging cars. Likening the scene two hours before kick-off to 'a living hell', Bob Hardcastle, a resident of Wylva Road, suggested that 'there must have been over 2,000 altogether and they just picked up anything they could find as they marched towards each other. It was like a battleground and everyone in the area was terrified.'[73] Comparing the scene to that of two armies marching into battle, Mr Hardcastle went on to suggest that Liverpool's decaying inner city was providing hooligans with all the resources they needed to conduct street mêlées. At the bottom of Wylva Road was an empty and derelict plot of land where a church once stood, strewn with bricks and debris. 'Someone ought to clear that, it's like a red rag to a bull', Mr Hardcastle said.[74]

Two weeks later, the Anfield Tenants' Association was forced to present a petition to the city council aimed at stamping out post-match violence after a particularly troublesome cup weekend in which Everton and Liverpool had both been playing at home. Nicholls, present that day, remembered the occasion well:

> Over 100,000 fans just one mile apart. As we waited for Derby to come out and blocked Goodison Road, masses of Reds were doing the same outside Anfield. I've never seen chaos like it.[75]

The next day, the *Echo* reported that countless windows had been broken and one youth stabbed as fans returned to their coaches.[76] Urged on by the Tenant's Association, County Councillor for Anfield, Frank McGurk, pleaded with local authorities to get a grip on the situation, whilst his City Council counterpart, Myra Fitzsimmons, called for a 'conference of top public figures' to meet and discuss the growing problems.[77]

When Colin arrived in Liverpool to watch Arsenal a year later, the community had reached breaking point. The *Daily Post* described the brutal clashes after that particular match as 'the worst scenes witnessed by police and

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[73] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 8th March 1977
[74] *Ibid*
[75] Nicholls, *Scally*
[76] *Liverpool Echo*, 21st March 1977
[77] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 22nd March 1977

local residents for many years.'[78] The sense of fear amongst the local community was tangible as Mr Carp of Wylva Road described the view from his front window:

> Dozens of youths taking turns to kick at somebody. I could only watch what was going on – I would have been killed if I had gone out.[79]

The publican of the Albert and Park Hotel in Walton Breck Road, which found its windows the target of both home and away supporters, even likened it to his experiences in the military: 'I was in the army in Northern Ireland in 1972 – tonight was so bad that I can compare the two situations.'[80] Likewise, Mrs Kelly of Wylva Road described how her grandchildren had to be 'evacuated from the house like refugees in the middle of a war.'[81] The terminology and perception of the inner city was, therefore, framed within the discourse of battle.

Running battles to this extent were, of course, far from a weekly occurrence. However, disturbances of this scale would last long in the memory and the constant threat of reoccurrence caused considerable unease for communities.[82] In the aftermath of the Newcastle match, the Anfield Residents' Committee was in an understandably bitter mood. Crucially, just as hooligans were appropriating their surroundings to engage in disorder, residents and local communities appeared willing to employ their own techniques of surveillance, policing and segregation to regain control of their streets. According to the *Daily Post*, many residents 'stand at their gates to make sure no damage is done to property when the match is on.'[83] Once more, these actions were painted as inherently militaristic as residents and local businesses were described by the *Daily Post* as 'barricading themselves in for protection' before every match.[84] After the unsavoury scenes of the Arsenal match, the Committee threatened to 'launch a "people's war" to protect themselves and their homes'

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[78] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 7th February 1978. See also Allt, *The Boys from the Mersey*. 'It the worst violence ever seen at Anfield – battles erupted and complete bedlam ensued.'
[79] *Ibid*. See also Ward, *Steaming In*, p. 78
[80] *Ibid*
[81] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 9th February 1978
[82] See *Scottie Press*, Issue 3, April 1971. The paper echoed the fears of the community regarding football-related disorder, complaining that the area between Everton Valley and Mile End was the 'hooligan's hunting ground'.
[83] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 21st March 1977
[84] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 7th February 1978

and was even discussing blocking roads with cars to create 'manned barricades.'[85]

If defence and reinforcement governed the perceptions of local residents, then it was conquest, subterfuge and ambush that dictated the mental geographies of hooligans. 'Invading and occupying a town' was the main aim of the day for O'Neill, whereas Eddie, describing the unsavoury scenes after one home game, likened events to the Battle of Thermopylae.[86] Just as home supporters had been keen to contest any perceived transgressions within the stadium, they were likewise intent on defending the surrounding streets. The attack on Arsenal fans described by Ward became so large at least partly because of their supposed actions in the city centre earlier that day. Eddie, present that night, recalled:

> A rumour had gone round that Arsenal had turned up and ran amok in St John's Market. It mightn't have been that bad but they soon knew about it later that night. Honestly, I'd never seen anything like it. A mob of about three hundred Everton even got involved, the poor bastards.[87]

In St John's Market, Arsenal supporters had intruded behind enemy lines. In the darkened streets outside of Anfield later that night, they were successfully ambushed as home supporters emphasised their control of the inner city landscape. In such hostile conditions, many away fans understandably felt the need to protect themselves. A Middlesbrough fan hauled in front of Liverpool City Magistrates and fined £300 for possessing a knife in 1977, when asked to explain why it was on his person, simply replied; 'I had it to protect myself. I've been to Liverpool before.'[88]

Not only were the rituals of home and away support couched in terms of transgression and invasion, supporters' movements through and descriptions of urban space were understood through the language of battle. Everton fan George Orr, recalling his own experiences of travelling to away matches, likened

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[85] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 9th February 1978
[86] O'Neill, *Red Army General*; Interview with Eddie Cotton, 27/07/2015, p. 21. See also Francis and Walsh, *Guvnors*
[87] Interview with Eddie Cotton, 27/07/2015, p. 24
[88] *Liverpool Echo*, 21st March 1977

it to being in 'a warzone in which I've got to get from here to there with 5,000 people along the way who aren't too friendly.'[89] As this journey unfolded the map was redrawn as a series of skirmish points. There was even an awareness of formations and tactics, as Manchester United fan Ian Hough, caught around Scotland Road in the late 1970s, suggested that both sides used 'pincer movements' to gain the upper hand.[90] Hooligans adopted a variety of roles within this battlefield. When Liverpool fans visited Manchester's Maine Road in the late 1970s for an F.A. Cup replay, O'Neill described how fans sent out 'small war parties and individual scouts to look for the enemy', as unruly fans outside of the stadium were adopting the same processes of surveillance being used for controlling supporters within it.[91] The use of spotters and scouts became common. Indeed, Allt recalls that 'young scouts…would keep the older lads informed about the enemy's position' so that confrontations could be entered into on favourable terms.[92] As Eddie's testimony suggests, these practices crossed boundaries and even extended to within the stadium. Recalling a league match against West Ham in the late 1970s, he said:

> I wasn't a spotter all the time, but that day I was. You'd just go into the away end – "How many of them is the'?" Looking not just for how many, but the ones who looked hard.[93]

The geographies of militarism were likewise adopted by the police. Describing an incident involving a few hundred Liverpool fans in Manchester, Mickey Francis suggested that it was 'broken up when the mounted police launched what I can only describe as a cavalry charge.'[94] Likewise, in his study of Merseyside's A-Division, James McClure's descriptions emphasise how the police had internalised a language of battle when faced with football-related disorder:

> The sergeant's van moved ahead of the marchers to check the route once again for any pockets of ambushers that may be lurking. The sweep up

[89] Interview with George Orr, Everton Collection Oral History Recordings, LRO 796EFC/57/16
[90] Hough, *Perry Boys*
[91] O'Neill, *Red Army General*
[92] Allt, *The Boys from the Mersey*
[93] Interview with Eddie Cotton, 27/07/2015, p. 24
[94] Francis and Walsh, *Guvnors*

> round the back of St Anne Street is too exposed to present a problem, but Great Homer Street, with a defensive wall of shops within a stone's throw of the road, is another matter.[95]

Crucially, alongside these military metaphors, hooligans appropriated the characteristics of the surrounding landscape to create a series of topophobias. The journey between Lime Street and the city's stadiums was between two and three miles and took in a significant stretch of the inner city which, by the mid-1970s, was a muddled landscape of alleyways, tenements, high rises, derelict land and claustrophobic terraces. The area's visual characteristics contributed towards a sense of fear among visiting supporters, with Scotland Road becoming a particularly dreaded stretch. Once the thriving hub for a working-class community, it was left eviscerated by the approach road for the new Wallasey Tunnel, opened in 1971. Eddie described the area as thus:

> There were loads of blocks of flats in those days and it looked evil. You weren't walking around Chelsea Flower Garden. You could tell just by the surroundings that this was going to be dodgy – put yourself in the shoes of an away supporter and it must have been scary.[96]

Nicholls had similar recollections, linking the decay of the area to its alleged dangerousness for travelling fans:

> An hour's walk to the ground from Lime Street, along the notorious Scotland Road, a feared stretch that typified inner-city decay. You could be mugged on "Scotty" on a Tuesday morning in June, never mind a Saturday in November when thugs…were prowling on the lookout for a stray Cockney or Manc.[97]

Seemingly designed for concealment, those seeking disorder fully utilised their knowledge of a confusing landscape that provided ample opportunity for ambush. For example, Allt reimagined the flats and tenements along Scotland Road as points of considerable opportunity:

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[95] McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 270
[96] Interview with Eddie Cotton, 27/07/2015, p. 19
[97] Nicholls, *Scally*

> Gerard and Fontenoy Gardens, along with the myriad of streets that ran off Scotland Road and Great Homer Street were the main ambush points. The tenement landings and back jiggers would be full of marauding skinheads and bootboys…and were a concrete maze if you didn't know the layout, and the bizzies had an impossible task of clearing out the gangs on a match day…By the age of ten or eleven I knew the place back to front.[98]

Adopting the language of battle, Allt remembered that 'the Liverpool firm would be hidden among the Scottie nooks and crannies, before appearing into the light like a bunch of Scouse Zulus wearing Samba and Freds.'[99] Bereft of fear, able to appear and disappear like fleeting shadows, many were encouraged to engage in disorderly activities, so much so that a reputation for ambush became the area's distinguishing feature. A study in the early 1980s suggested that local hooligan groups 'were best known less for their organisation or their general fighting prowess than they were for their alleged dangerousness *when faced in Liverpool*.'[100] This was a practice that had clearly been going on for some time. A police sergeant recalled to McClure that from as early as the 1960s:

> Supporters coming off the trains used to be directed over to Gerard Gardens by the cowboys waiting for these fellahs, and we used to have them trooping into St Anne's Street [Police Station] without their coats, their boots, their shoes and their money.[101]

Likewise, whereas home supporters such as Allt and Nicholls appropriated the surrounding landscape for violent activity, the memoirs of visiting fans demonstrate their success in fashioning a landscape of fear. Hough remembers the journey clearly:

> The walk back consisted of them coming down the grass verges by the Scotty Road flats…Sometimes we went after them into the evil ginnels…I

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[98] Allt, *The Boys from the Mersey*
[99] *Ibid*. Samba is a reference to the popular Adidas training shoe, Freds refers to Fred Perry polos, whereas bizzies is a colloquial term for the police.
[100] Italics added by author. Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research, *Football and Football Hooliganism in Liverpool*, p. 16
[101] McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 269

> swear I still have nightmares to this day of being stuck somewhere in Liverpool trying to get back to Lime Street with my scalp intact.[102]

Just as segregation within the ground was being achieved, growing street disorder meant that the same principle was being proposed as a solution beyond the boundaries of the stadium. Councillor Myra Fitzsimmons recognised the need to filter out potentially disorderly crowds from local communities. She suggested 'exploring the possibility of channelling soccer crowds into specified roads to save residential streets.'[103] Indeed, as a method of stymying disorder, Merseyside Police wholeheartedly embraced the suggestion that visiting supporters required tighter controls in their movement through urban space. By the late 1970s, the provision of escorts to and from the ground, an example of which is pictured in Image 3.7, 'involved a considerable police commitment.'[104] Eddie remembered the route well, stressing that the aim was to separate visiting fans from residential areas:

> Scotland Road was where the police used to take them most times. They'd never bring them into the housing estates, didn't wanna go up Netherfield Road in case windows got smashed. So they'd take them to the main roads and keep them there.[105]

By the early 1980s, it was common for the police to stop incoming trains at Edge Hill Station and shuttle supporters onto stadium-bound buses, thereby avoiding any potential clashes at Lime Street and completely removing large groups of supporters from the urban environment. Likewise, away supporters were often held back after the match to allow home crowds to disperse. By the mid-1980s, a study suggested that it was 'rare to see identifiable visiting fans walking around or near the Merseyside grounds without police cover.'[106] It championed the success of police policies of segregation, noting that Everton and Liverpool supporters 'barely come across visiting fans face-to-face during the entire season as the approaches to the home terraces…are well clear of the

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[102] Hough, *Perry Boys*
[103] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 9th February 1978
[104] Merseyside Police Authority, *Annual Report 1979*, p. 100
[105] Interview with Eddie Cotton, 27/07/2015, p. 19
[106] Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research, *Football and Football Hooliganism in Liverpool*, p. 27

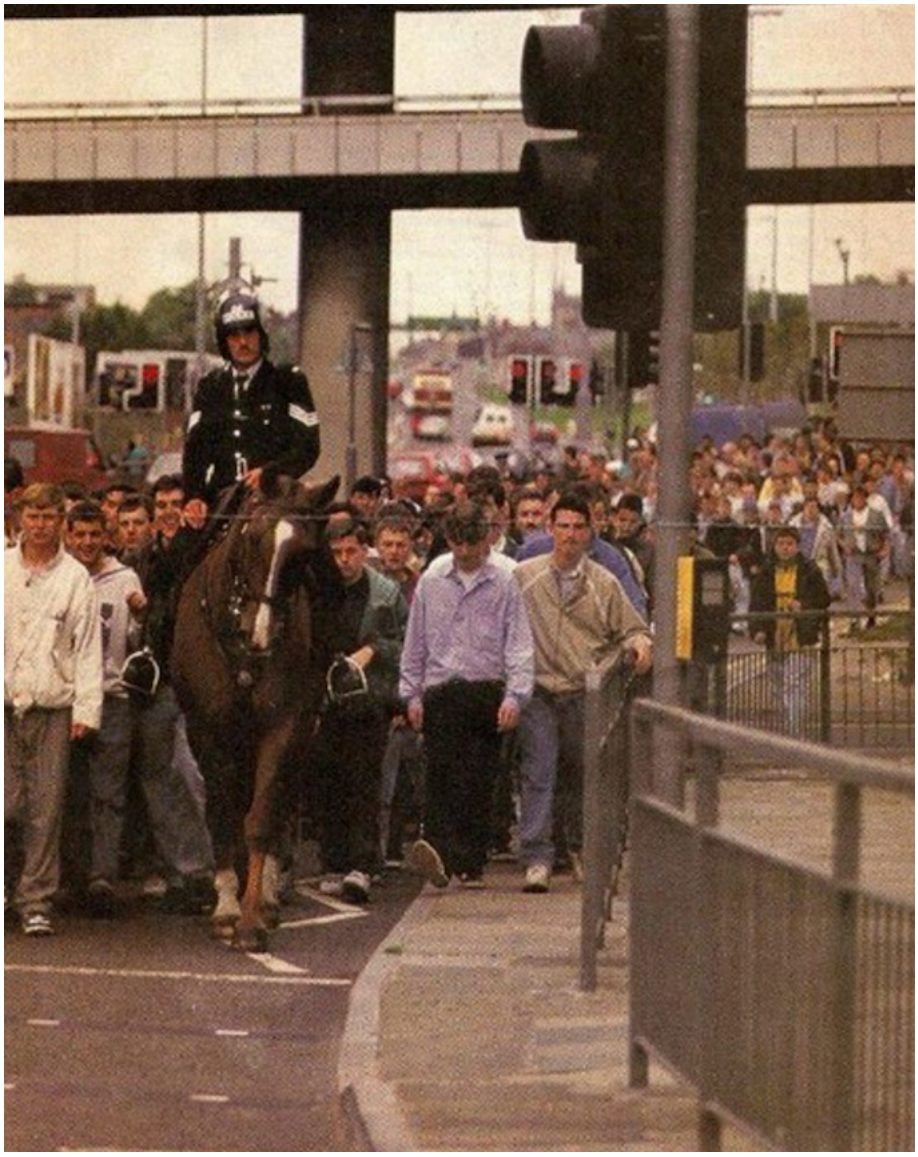

Image 3.7 – Police provide travelling away fans with an escort through the Scotland Road area (mid-1980s)

normal routes used to ferry visitors to and from games.'[107] Aided by well-organised public order policing operations and the development of specialised public order divisions – a growing trend in urban policing explored in greater detail in Chapter Five – the odds of both sides stumbling across each other in a chance encounter was therefore becoming increasingly improbable.

In many respects, those seeking disorder began to segregate and camouflage themselves in order to conduct their activities, travelling to games in small groups under the radar of the authorities. Although undoubtedly contentious, former hooligans' assertions that they only sought to engage in

[107] *Ibid*, p. 28

violence with those who were willing appears to hold some truth as, policed to the margins, they sought liminal spaces – such as Stanley Park, 110-acres of green space situated between the city's stadiums – in order to host skirmishes.[108] Hewitson, for example, recalls how:

> As the away fans were kept in, hundreds of yobs would gather in Stanley Park in readiness. It was the obligatory thing to do and was a ritual that lasted years for many.[109]

For Allt, one of the main attractions of Stanley Park was its liminality to the police; there was, in his words, 'no Plod Squad about.'[110] As a result, hooligans often favoured locations where surveillance would be minimal, policing difficult, and where they could engage in violent activities without the risk of interruption.

Entry into these spaces relied on a pre-existing knowledge of the local landscape and those who did, either wittingly or unwittingly, signified to local firms their desire to fight. Crucially, these spaces were also a point of negotiation for many "ordinary" fans. Whereas the declining attendances of the 1970s and 1980s cannot be attributed to hooliganism alone – increasing unemployment, rising ticket prices, more varied forms of leisure and inner city depopulation played their part – the topophobias created by hooligans did influence individual decisions to enter the matchday arena. For some, it led to a refusal to enter at all. Phil Parker was put off going to away games, suggesting that 'throughout the 70s, I put up with it. In the eighties it got really bad and I dropped off the away games because of the violence of it all.'[111] Likewise, in 1977 the *Daily Post* featured a variety of comments on how football-related violence meant that many supporters were refusing to go to the match. In

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[108] Francis and Walsh, *Guvnors*, 'I fought only with those who wanted to fight with me'; Allt, *The Boys from the Mersey*, 'Gangs handed out beatings to crews of visiting hoolies, not dads and kids wearing scarves'; Interview with Eddie Cotton, 27/07/2015, p. 21, 'You weren't after the dads with their kids. Nothing to do with that.'
[109] Hewitson, *The Liverpool Boys are in Town*
[110] Allt, *The Boys from the Mersey*
[111] Interview with Phil Parker, Everton Collection Oral History Recordings, LRO 796EFC/57/16

commenting that 'I won't let my son go to the matches because of the violence', one worried mother appeared to summarise the general concerns of many.[112]

However, outright avoidance of the landscapes moulded by football was not the most common decision, something to which relatively stable local attendance records during this period attest. More often than not, the negotiation was much more nuanced and relied on supporters' pre-existing knowledge of the spaces of disorder, established through hearsay or experience. Dave, for example, commented on how easily violence and confrontation could be sidestepped. Just as hooligans utilised their understandings of the area to evade surveillance and engage in disorder, ordinary supporters deployed their own knowledge precisely to avoid such troubles:

> Stanley Park was where all the shit happened. Sometimes we'd be walking down and you'd hear the thunder of horses. We'd circumvent that and go down Walton Lane. So you'd hear it, and you'd see it, but it was easy to avoid. It was concentrated in certain areas. It was only for the troublemakers.[113]

What this created for many spectators was the notion of the inner city as a series of concurrent landscapes; a sort of continuum between normality and disorder, inclusion and exclusion. Whilst cultures of violence would periodically erupt, they shared the stadium and its surroundings with a variety of other practices, a situation well summarised by Dave:

> They wouldn't go looking for anyone else. They'd ignore you. It was almost like you were invisible. I'm sure there were exceptions and people probably got caught up by accident but if you went round it, it was almost as if it didn't happen.[114]

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[112] *Daily Post*, 11th April 1977
[113] Interview with Dave Sinclair, 12/04/2016, p. 11
[114] *Ibid*, p. 11

Section II – Topophilia and the Landscapes of Inclusion and Exclusion

The Stadium and the Emergence of the Scally

British stadia were not merely the setting for a cat and mouse game between the powers of surveillance and those seeking to undermine the reach of the disciplinary process. That hooligans and ordinary fans separated themselves points towards the existence of diverse and simultaneous experiences of the sporting landscape; what could be termed landscapes of disorder and landscapes of fandom. This section turns its attention to the latter. As central sites of collective expression, stadiums represented a point of productive cultural exchange and, in so doing, created topophilic notions of affection and belonging. However, the forms of inclusion promoted by the stadium were particular. The majority of its users were white, male and working class, and as a result, the stadium represented a topophobic point of danger and exclusion for others. Using the example of three sets of spectators (scallies, black and female spectators), this section illustrates the nuanced social, cultural and spatial negotiations that occurred within the stadium and how the experience of a football match was riven across the boundaries of race and gender.

Emerging from Liverpool's rundown inner city in 1977, scally incorporated the match-going routine of following a football club home and away with a vibrant and eclectic subcultural style that mixed skinny jeans and training shoes with European sportswear labels and a distinctive wedge haircut fashioned around David Bowie and Bryan Ferry's styles of the day. Described by *The Face* in 1982 as a style 'at once aggressive, effeminate and extremely attractive', it allowed young men to fashion a distinctive, working-class and masculine identity around the arenas of football and music. Its unique style is illustrated in Image 3.8, taken from local fanzine *The End* in 1982.[115] Just like Sleight's larrikins of late-Victorian Melbourne, Liverpool's scally culture can be attributed to a 'series of performances in space linked to the urban locations in

[115] K. Sampson and D. Rimmer, 'The Ins and Outs of High Street Fashion', *The Face*, February 1982

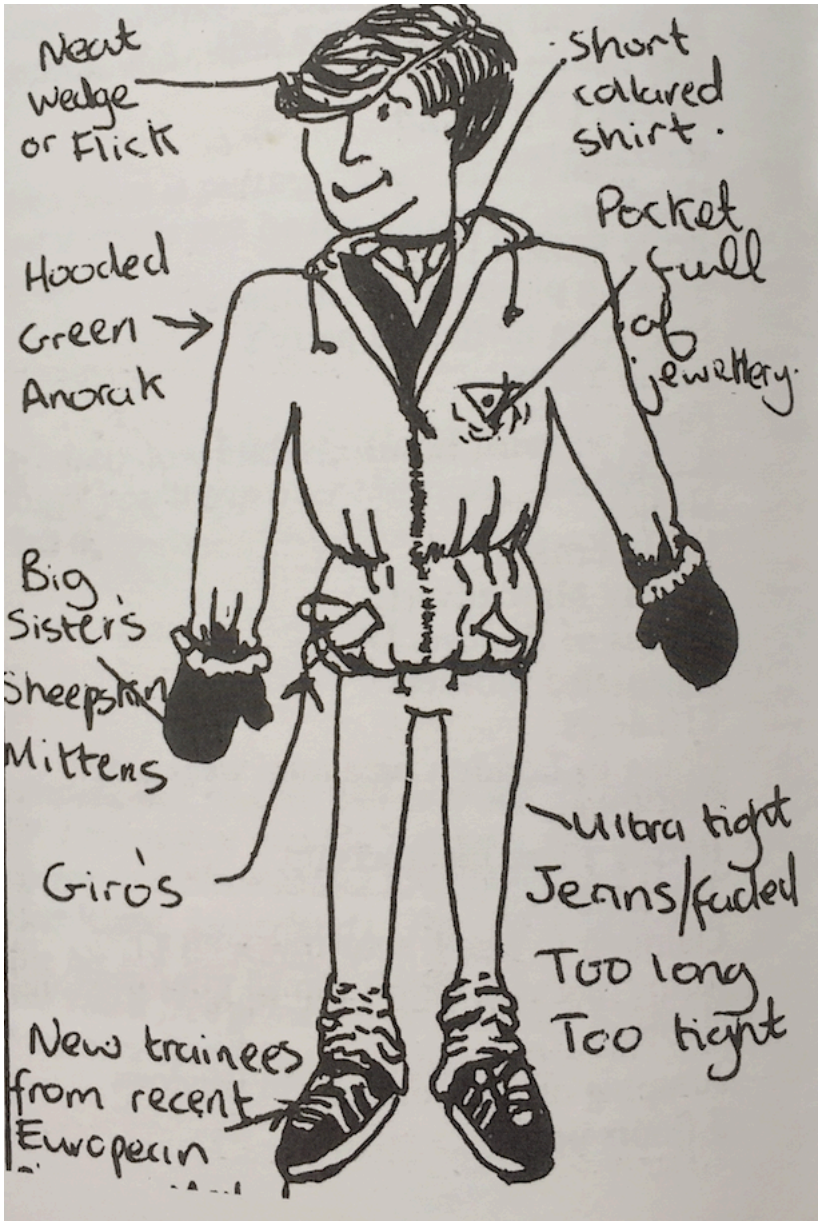

Image 3.8 – A 'typical' scally, sketched by *The End* (1982)

which they occurred.'[116] Regularly found on the football terraces, the material composition of the stadium, the inception, development and function of scally culture and the actions, behaviours and styles of these young men were mutually constitutive – just as scallies would be shaped by the stadium, they in turn would alter and shape the stadium's social and cultural geography. As a site of social interaction, a crucial node in a network of black market economies and an innovative point of subcultural performance, the stadium helped to

[116] Sleight, 'Interstitial Acts', p. 232. For a wider exploration of scally culture, see D. Warner, *Britain's Lost Tribe: Charting the Historical Experience of Scally Subculture Across the Urban Form of Liverpool, 1977-1989* (unpublished MA Thesis: University of Liverpool, 2014)

delineate identity through a series of socio-spatial negotiations between a variety of 'selves' and 'others'.

At their most practical level, Anfield and Goodison acted as magnets in the urban landscape, assembling youth from far-flung and disparate areas of the city into a crowded and congested public space on a regular basis. This effect was well summarised by David Robins:

> In Birmingham, London and Liverpool old neighbourhoods that have long been centres of support for the big clubs have been broken up…One consequence is that many children of life-long supporters no longer grow up in the old city centres but in the suburbs, over-spills, new towns…But for the young, growing vegetables in the back-garden is not a sufficient communal substitute. So they come back to the old parts of the cities where the soccer grounds are located.[117]

In Liverpool's landscape of fiercely territorial youth identities – to be investigated further in Chapter Four – this was especially important as sporting allegiances created an imagined community that overrode neighbourhood affiliations and subsumed them under the wider identity of the football club. For example, Allt describes the "Road End Crew" of scallies as being made up of groups from Kirkby, Huyton, Kensington, Speke, Garston, Netherley and Croxteth. For Allt, 'these were firms within a firm, but by the end of the [1977/78] season they all knew each other well.'[118] If football provided a common frame of reference for otherwise disparate youth, then the stadium was a vital site for the expression of this perceived similarity. Through routinised and repeated patterns of match-going behaviour, a sense of belonging to a wider fraternity was forged, centred on the stadium and negotiated through a sense of topophilia. For scallies, the stadium was a site of collective affection. As two of the oldest grounds in the country, Anfield and Goodison drew on an emblematic sense of history and tradition, provoking a series of emotional and quasi-religious encounters that solidified the bonds

[117] D. Robins, *We Hate Humans* (Kindle Edition: Milo Books, 2011)
[118] Allt, *The Boys From the Mersey*

between youths. Tellingly then, Allt described Anfield as 'the shrine', whereas *The End* suggested Goodison was 'a place where Evertonians worship.'[119]

Once congregated en masse, Liverpool's stadiums became much like an agora.[120] Firstly, as a meeting place that provided a convenient setting for the relay of information, stories and plans, the stadium facilitated communication and was a place where friendships could be forged and maintained. At Anfield, the match was often of secondary importance to this free trade of information and opinion, with Allt suggesting that 'most of the lads were too busy gabbing about music, clobber, or who'd copped for a good few quid lately.'[121] Secondly, in creating a central social arena for young men to gather, it provided the opportunity to publicly perform a unique and discernible style. The match was, in the words of Hewitson, becoming a fashion catwalk where the latest developments in subcultural style could be displayed. In 1981 for example, *The End* produced a humorous petition calling for 'Everton and Liverpool to provide full length mirrors and hairdryers in the bogs' in order to guarantee a sharp and polished matchday appearance.[122] That Hewitson believed that the 'lure of the well-turned out mob had the numbers growing by the week' suggests Anfield and Goodison were therefore points in the urban landscape that advertised scally style to other, previously liminal youths.[123] They provided the conditions to broaden participation and recruit new members by offering a wide array of encounters unlikely to occur anywhere else.

Such overt performances of style and identity further meant that the terrace became a highly competitive and innovative site of cultural production. Fuelled by success in continental competition, elusive European sportswear items were publicly displayed by scallies locked in a constant game of one-upmanship. What, or, indeed, who, was deemed in or out was confirmed on the terraces. As seen from Image 3.9, the three stripes of Adidas were omnipresent.

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[119] *Ibid*; *The End*, Issue 3, January 1982
[120] See M. Guschwan, 'Stadium as Public Sphere', *Sport in Society*, 17.7 (2014), pp. 884-900; J. Hughson, 'Soccer Support and Social Identity: Finding the 'Thirdspace'', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 33.4 (1998), pp. 403-409
[121] Allt, *The Boys From the Mersey*
[122] *The End*, Issue 2, December 1981
[123] Hewitson, *The Liverpool Boys are in Town*

Image 3.9 – Scally fashions on display outside of Anfield (early 1980s)

Trainers in particular became of significant cultural value, with Hewitson suggesting that:

> To be asked "Where d'ya get yer trainees from?" became the ultimate accolade…it gave a feeling of personal pride. The match was the place to be seen and to turn up in something everyone was after was a great feeling. A tip was to scuff and dirty the trainers after buying them, so people would think they were a few months old.[124]

The rarity of the item was directly concordant with its cultural capital inside the ground. Competition drove innovation as scallies attempted to outdo one another through the public display of highly sought-after items and, as rare sportswear brands turned the stadium into an ultra-competitive site of subcultural display, they furthermore fashioned a marketplace for a unique black economy. Whether obtained legally or not, groups following Liverpool around Europe pillaged from local sports stores to find many customers back home willing to pay a good price for their plunder.[125] Trips abroad become so frequent that orders could be placed before an excursion was made. In a culture

[124] *Ibid*
[125] *Ibid*

that prized a pair of foreign trainers as the ultimate acquisition, the demands of this economy were set by what was popular on the terraces, whereas the space in and around the stadium became an essential point of transaction, with Allt suggesting that 'new gear appeared every few weeks on the Road End terraces.'[126]

As well as providing a space for the innovation and display of style, scallies constructed an identity that willingly subverted the accepted norms of stadium behaviour and challenged the matchday cultures that surrounded them. The stadium was therefore a site of external as well as internal negotiation. Homi Bhabha proposed that it is 'the system of differentiation that enables the cultural to be signified as a linguistic, symbolic, historic reality.'[127] Relational, oppositional and negotiated through the prism of difference, identities are defined as much by what they are not than by what they are. Moreover, this negotiation is spatially manifest through certain places, which Massey suggested are complex networks of social relations and the location of the intersection of disparate trajectories.[128] The stadium was home to several distinct matchday cultures, whose intricate spatial organisation within the stadium was crucial to how scallies defined themselves. Seemingly small nuances fuelled considerable cultural differences as the annexation of certain sections of Anfield and Goodison as "home" further stimulated the construction of alternate identities within different parts of the same stadium. The scally's identity was therefore a spatial, a social and a cultural positioning, a series of place-related struggles that delineated and defined the boundaries of each culture further.

For example, the seeming paradox of football supporters unwilling to wear their team's shirt can be explained as a subversive performance in space from which identity was derived. Steeped in a carnivalesque atmosphere, and in a similar fashion to Orange parades, the match provided a spectacle that encouraged heightened and exaggerated behaviours (shouting, swearing,

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[126] Allt, *The Boys From the Mersey*

[127] H. Bhabha, 'Interrogating Identity: The Post-Colonial Prerogative' in P. du Gay, J. Evans and P. Redman (eds), *Identity: A Reader* (London: Sage, 2006), p. 100

[128] D. Massey, 'Geographies of Responsibility', *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 86.1 (2004), p. 6

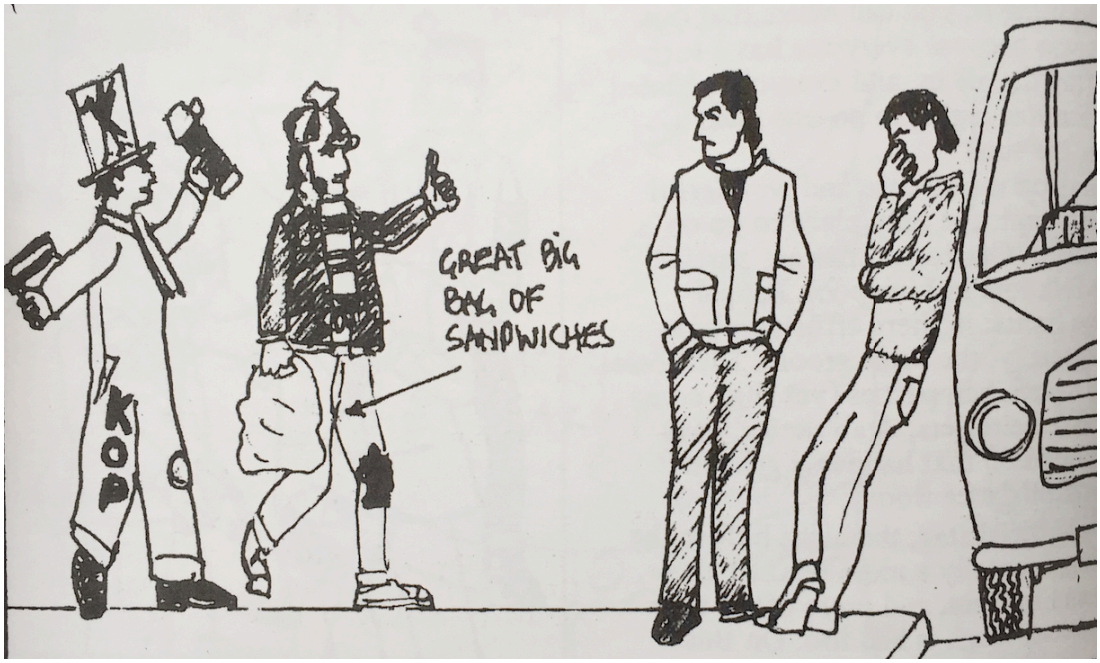

Image 3.10 – Casual match-going meets more traditional carnivalesque patterns of support (1983)

singing) and dress (kits, scarves and other paraphernalia). As well as their previously noted indifference towards the match, by deliberately refusing to wear football shirts and scarves and instead donning more casual attire, scallies subverted the sartorial as well as behavioural expectations of the stadium. For example, Image 3.10, a cartoon featured in *The End*, humorously displays the embarrassment felt by two match-going scallies at the sight of their friends dressed in full regalia, a big bag of sandwiches in tow. This conscious decision to differentiate themselves from the rest of the crowd via their clothes, style and attitude – in 1982 *The Face* tellingly suggested that the style derived not just from clothing but included '*sitting* at the match rather than standing' – contributed to a heightened sense of identity by aggressively challenging the carnivalesque rules of spectatorship.[129] "Showing off" the fact that they "did not show off", the deliberate and considered style of the scally was no less of a performance than any other. Yet its key performative element derived from an opposition to the flamboyant behaviour of other spectators; a direct contrast that allowed scallies to form a unique style within a thoroughly *anti-style* discourse. How one acted within the space of the stadium became a crucial

[129] Sampson and Rimmer, 'The Ins and Outs of High Street Fashion'

marker of identity and attending the match in a casual fashion quickly became a matchday culture in itself.

The expression of these differences required space and the resulting organisation of the stadium served to heighten a sense of group personality. By nullifying intra-city youth rivalries while simultaneously pitting scallies in competition with other matchday cultures – including punks, skinheads and bootboys – the stadium mitigated certain rivalries and intensified others. In this regard, the architecture of Goodison and Anfield was particularly effective. As traditional four-sided stadiums, they disconnected spectators from their fellow attendees and, according to Benjamin Flowers, aroused adversarial feelings by 'emphasizing group identities distinct from the whole.'[130] Scallies adopted the Anfield Road and Park End stands in part due to their proximity to away fans, who routinely provided examples in how not to dress, whereas placing them behind segregated pens and barriers solidified an ultra-local sense of style through the creation of strong oppositional identities. Scallies lambasted visiting Mancunians and Cockneys for the perceived bastardisation of their styles, although special criticism was reserved for Yorkshire-based teams. Described in *The End* as 'people who dress strangely', fans of Leeds United were portrayed, as in Image 3.11, as 'trog-like monsters...with a frizzy blond mop of hair, short on top and long at the back and sides.'[131] Replete in flares and a team scarf, the Yorkshireman was seen to be laughably behind the times.

Nor were the fashions and fads of home supporters immune to scally ire. Indeed, much of their specific style was formed in opposition to the Kop which, having been claimed by skinheads and bootboys, was a space seen as exemplary only in its obsolescence; increasingly old-hat and in danger of becoming, in the words of Hewitson, 'an embarrassing anachronism.'[132] Allt recalled that by the late 1970s Kopites and Road Enders would spend the game deriding each other, whereas Hewitson suggests that the two stands were locked in a 'conflict of lifestyle aspirations as...the terraces became a statement of one's own identity

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[130] B. Flowers, 'Stadiums: Architecture and Iconography of the Beautiful Game', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 28.8 (2011), pp. 1179-1181
[131] *The End*, Issue 3, January 1982; *The End*, Issue 5, May 1982
[132] Hewitson, *The Liverpool Boys are in Town*

Image 3.11 – 'Trog-like Monsters': *The End's* depiction of a typical Leeds United supporter (1982)

and personality.'[133] There is even evidence to suggest that scally identities formed on the terrace were strong enough to override the team loyalties that had assembled them there in the first place. Memoirs regularly allude to the affinity felt *between* Liverpool and Everton's scallies, despite being situated in completely separate stadiums.[134] According to Hewitson, scallies would often visit their equivalent stands, as an unintended consequence of ¾ time was that 'the Road End/Park End would suddenly seem twice as full, as Blues would come up to Anfield to team up with their mates for any after match shenanigans and vice versa.'[135] That the sense of affinity between these young men, fashioned on the terraces, was able to subsume local rivalries suggests that the

[133] Allt, *The Boys From the Mersey*; Hewitson, *The Liverpool Boys are in Town*
[134] See *Ibid*, Nicholls, *Scally;* Hewitson, *The Liverpool Boys are in Town*
[135] ¾ time was the common practice of opening the gates fifteen minutes before the end of the match to allow early leavers to vacate, thereby minimising the risk of crushing.

stadium represented a space of inclusion, community and cultural production. Such wholly positive experiences were seldom replicated and, in short, the grounds were a much less comfortable setting for others. For the local black community, pervasive and endemic racism meant that the stadium was a point of discomfort, exclusion and even danger.

Race and the Merseyside Stadiums

On a cold midweek evening at Anfield on 29th October 1987, a League Cup third round match hosted at Anfield provided Merseyside with its first derby of the season. A tense and feisty affair under the floodlights, the game was eventually decided seven minutes from time after Gary Stevens' deflected effort sent the Liverpool goalkeeper the wrong way – a clumsy goal befitting of a scrappy fixture. However, unsavoury scenes off the field quickly overshadowed events on it. The focus turned to Liverpool's new summer signing, the consummate and skilful black British winger, John Barnes, the first black player to be transferred to either Merseyside club.[136] He was roundly and vehemently jeered when in possession, perhaps unsurprising given his star status within the Liverpool squad. It became swiftly apparent, however, that the response of the Everton fans went far beyond singling Barnes out on account of his skill and flair. Two days later, the *Daily Mirror* reported that significant sections of the away contingent engaged in 'disgraceful scenes and taunts', including a bastardised version their rivals' most famous chant – "Liverpool, Liverpool, Liverpool" had been turned into "Niggerpool, Niggerpool, Niggerpool".[137] The following chant, "Everton are white", had been so noticeable that it even echoed in the background of the radio commentary.[138] The *Daily Post* reported that Barnes had been pelted with bananas, leading Patrick Barclay, writing for the *Independent*, to comment that 'the sheer volume of bananas, which are not cheap in a city taking longer than most to get out of the

[136] Though both clubs had previously debuted local black players. In 1974, Everton handed Cliff Marshall his first appearance. He would make just six more before being offloaded to Miami Toros. In 1977, Liverpool signed up local prospect Howard Gayle on a full-time contract, handing him four appearances in the 1980/81 season before his transfer to Birmingham City. Both subsequently commented on a culture of institutional racism and how their status as black players hindered their development. See H. Gayle, *61 Minutes in Munich* (Liverpool: deCoubertin Books, 2016), pp. 53-73

[137] *Daily Mirror*, 31st October 1987

[138] Nicholls, *Scally*

recession, showed how much the Everton supporters wanted to make their point.'[139]

The point they were making was a highly significant one. Even in an era in which racist taunts were commonplace in British football, the events that unfolded at Anfield that night remain, according to Dave Hill, 'amongst the most spectacular and widely witnessed displays of racist sentiment in an English sporting arena.'[140] In the immediate aftermath the spotlight rightly settled on Everton. Many were quick to question if they were a "racist club", while the Chairman and then League President of the Football Association, Sir Philip Carter, appeared on the front page of several national newspapers labelling those involved as 'scum', keen to disown what he described as a maniac fringe.[141] However, the chants illustrated a far more endemic problem than the actions of a deplorable minority. Whereas the majority of English First Division clubs fielded several black players by the mid-1980s, they remained conspicuous by their absence on Merseyside. Moreover, the adaptation and bastardisation of Liverpool's famous chant by Everton supporters implicated their near neighbours in the process. While Barnes was the chant's key referent, the predominant targets were the opposing Liverpool supporters. As Back et al. suggested, the Everton fans were 'making a statement about the perceived normative identity and racial preferences of [football on] Merseyside' – a point that relied upon the assumption that those preferences were *shared* by the principally white Liverpool support.[142] The chant's 'main reason was', Allt rightly pointed out, 'to wind the Reds up' and, in some quarters, it had evidently worked.[143] Liverpool fans hastily poured scorn on their neighbours following the incident, but they were equally quick to forget that one of Barnes's last games for Watford had been at Anfield, a visit during which he had endured regular and sustained jeers.[144]

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[139] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 31st October 1987; *Independent*, 30th October 1987
[140] Hill, *Out of His Skin*, p. 15
[141] *Daily Mirror*, 31st October 1987
[142] L. Back, T. Crabbe and J. Solomos, 'Racism in Football: Patterns of Continuity and Change' in A. Brown (ed.), *Fanatics! Power, Identity and Fandom in Football* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 78
[143] Allt, *The Boys from the Mersey*
[144] Interview with Graham Ennis in Back, Crabbe and Solomos, 'Racism in Football', p. 79

Barnes's appearance on the pitch at Anfield, then, represented a transgression of the assumed racial norms of the stadium. The pitch and the stands were an inherently white space, providing a platform for the celebration of an almost exclusively white local identity, a point relevant to *both* clubs. Goodison and Anfield, alongside their ability to foster inclusive and creative cultural relations, were to be an exclusionary, intimidating and racist space within the city for black players and supporters alike. There was, of course, no official colour bar in Liverpool, though the city's stadiums represented the most acute point of marginalisation within a series of exclusionary geographies that dictated the everyday life of Liverpool's black population, a point picked up on by many commentators at the time. A report from the mid-1980s claimed that few in the black community 'have effective access to the football terraces in a city whose collective cultural experience is more dominated by…football than probably any other city in England.'[145] Likewise, in 1985 the *Guardian* commented that 'black faces, at least among the home supporters, are almost entirely absent from the terraces.'[146] A City Council report from the same year rather uncomfortably remarked that 'it is especially noticeable that in Liverpool very few Black or Asian fans seem willing to attend matches under the present conditions.'[147]

That few attended was hardly surprising. For the black community, the present conditions meant an uncomfortable, hostile and dangerous environment; their presence a transgressive invasion of a white working-class space that could elicit hostile responses. Indeed, Hill suggests that 'by the second half of the Seventies, racist terrace taunts were a routine experience at most football grounds', though Goodison and Anfield had been established as unfriendly venues for non-white visitors for some time before this.[148] Overshadowed by later events in the much-publicised 1964 "Battle of Goodison", a less well-known aspect of the crowd's disorderly behaviour was the racist abuse suffered by Leeds's South African winger, Albert Johanneson.

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[145] Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research, *Football and Football Hooliganism in Liverpool*, p. 7
[146] *Guardian*, 28th December 1985
[147] Liverpool City Council, *Football and the Community: Programmes for Implementation in Liverpool* (Liverpool: Liverpool City Council, 1985), p. 8 LRO 796.33 CAN
[148] Hill, *Out of His Skin*, p. 136

Alongside claiming that an Everton defender had called him 'a black bastard', Johanneson was bombarded with 'Zulu chants and plenty of nasty remarks.'[149] Nor was such treatment reserved solely for opposing players. Two years later, Everton's two-goal F.A. Cup hero, Mike Trebilcock, a Cornishman of dark complexion and ambiguous heritage, was the subject of a vile backhanded compliment from Everton fans, who quixotically chanted, 'We've got the best nigger in the land.'[150]

By the mid-1970s, racist chanting around the ground was commonplace as black players found themselves the target of the crowds' visceral prejudice. For black spectators, this was an intensely uncomfortable experience. Emy Onuora, a young Everton fan during the mid-1970s recalled the reaction Garth Crooks elicited coming on as a substitute for Stoke City at Goodison Park:

> I'd never heard anything like 20,000 people giving a black guy racist abuse. I wasn't naïve, of course I was familiar with racist taunts, but this was completely different. I'd never seen something on that scale before. It was such a hostile atmosphere.[151]

Crooks would trigger a similar response across Stanley Park. Stevie Joel, a young black man from Liverpool 8, remembered that:

> When Garth Crooks was playing, he'd get a hell of a lot of abuse. I used to stand there with a couple of mates and you'd feel about half an inch high.[152]

Racist taunts towards players on the pitch created a threatening atmosphere for black supporters within the stadium. Worse still, the presence of an opposing black player allowed the crowd to link the racial abuse of players on the pitch to the abuse of supporters in the stands. As Nicholls has suggested, 'if you were anything other than white you could be in for a rough ride when you came to

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[149] *Independent*, 1st October 1995
[150] J. Williams, ''Dark Town' and 'A Game for Britishers': Some Notes on History, Football and 'Race' in Liverpool' in D. Burdsey (ed.), *Race, Ethnicity and Football: Persistent Debates and Emerging Issues* (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 24
[151] Interview with Emy Onuora in *Liverpool Echo*, 6th May 2015
[152] Interview with Stevie Joel in Hill, *Out of His Skin*, p. 124

Goodison. It didn't matter if you were a player or a fan, you got shit, and plenty of it.'[153] Likewise, Eugene Lam recalls visiting Anfield in the 1970s:

> A few of us were there and the other team had maybe two black players. The Liverpool fans started chanting and shouting at them and then started doing it to us. It seemed like half of Liverpool was…pointing at us.[154]

For Stevie, the transgressive presence of a black player on the pitch would dictate whether he would choose to make the transgressive decision to frequent the terrace:

> It got to the stage where I used to look at the fixture list and if Liverpool were playing someone who *didn't* have a black player in their team, I'd go. If they were playing someone who did, I wouldn't. You can't fight 40,000 people.[155]

This hostile atmosphere continued well into the 1980s. In 1985, the *Guardian* claimed that 'when a black player has the ball at Goodison Park or Anfield, the crowd often begins a chant: "Nigger, nigger, nigger".'[156] Moreover, research carried out by Leicester University in the mid-1980s that analysed local schoolchildren's perceptions of the match found that many were already well accustomed to racist taunts. One fifteen-year-old, having recently visited Anfield to watch Liverpool play West Ham, described how:

> A coloured person inside the ground started shouting "Scouse Divvies", and a lot of other coloured people joined in so a young skinhead jumped out of his seat and started shouting "Kill the nigger" and his friends started singing "There is no black in the Union Jack so all the niggers fuck off back". And to this chant almost half of the ground stood up and joined in.[157]

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[153] Nicholls, *Scally*
[154] Interview with Eugene Lam in Hill, *Out of His Skin*, pp. 124-125
[155] Interview with Stevie Joel in *Ibid*, p. 124
[156] *Guardian*, 28th December 1985
[157] Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research, *Young People's Images of Attending Football* (Leicester: Department of Sociology, Leicester University, 1987). See also Nicholls, *Scally*

The prevalence of racist chants pushed the council into recommending further action. Barriers and pens proved useless against the prejudices of the crowd, and so a 1985 report urged that the clubs, alongside employing a Community Liaison Officer, encouraged 'orderly supporters to perform a more substantial amount of regulatory activities', including 'whistling down or drowning abusive or racialist chants.'[158] However, the result of racist taunts within the stadium-space for those in Liverpool's black community was clear. Many, like Paul, simply stopped attending:

> In the end, I stopped going. It was an intolerable situation to find yourself in, when you were prone to racial abuse from all sections of the ground, from both sets of supporters. It just defeated the object of going there.[159]

The stadium was not only a space in which racist views could be verbally expressed. Just as graffiti was utilised to materially demarcate denominational and sectarian boundaries within the inner city landscape, it was likewise adopted to mark the stadium out as a racially homogenous space. A month after John Barnes's transfer had been confirmed, Liverpool were forced into an embarrassing "clean up the terraces" campaign to welcome their new signing. Local community worker Brian Thompson and a group of sixth formers had compiled an extensive dossier on the racist graffiti littered around Anfield. The Merseyside Community Relations Council described the club the 'most racist in the country' in which 'sections of the crowd spray National Front slogans around the ground and jeer black players', whereas the *Daily Post* published a picture of the exit gate to the Kop, branded with the slogans "NF", "White Power" and "No Wogs Allowed", as seen in Image 3.12. Clearly frustrated, Thompson was quoted as saying 'you hardly ever see a black face in the crowd in Anfield and why? – because it's not safe for them to go there.' John Smith, the Club Chairman, dismissed the claim as 'nonsense.'[160]

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[158] Liverpool City Council, *Football and the Community*, p. 8
[159] Interview with Paul in Hill, *Out of His Skin*, p. 121
[160] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 2nd July 1987

Image 3.12 – Entrance to the Kop showing racist graffiti (1987)

Thompson's insinuation that the stadium was a space in which black supporters risked their personal safety was far from nonsensical. Faced with the experience of reading racist graffiti, witnessing and being subjected to verbal insults, black fans could also find themselves the victims of physical assault. That black supporters were actively targeted is difficult to statistically verify; Merseyside Police, unlike other police forces, did not keep specific figures for racially motivated attacks. Colloquially, however, black supporters were undoubtedly singled out for rougher treatment. In an interview with the *Guardian* in 1985, Paul Spencer, eighteen and from Liverpool 8, said:

> If you go to a football match, you're spotted straight away. They're going to follow you home and cut you. And people here are going to say it's your own fault, because black people do not go to the football matches.[161]

Nicholls was of a similar opinion. Describing an incident in which 'a black lad was getting ragged across the road by a little gang of urchins', Nicholls suggested that 'it was always the same story: when it went off there was no hiding place for black people.'[162] Paul and Steve, young black men from Liverpool 8, recalled their own personal experiences of violence at Anfield

[161] *Guardian*, 28th December 1985
[162] Nicholls, *Scally*

when interviewed by Hill. Paul describes his time in the boys' pen during the 1960s, whereas Steve recalls leaving Anfield after a match in the mid-1970s:

> I don't think there was an occasion when I did not have to physically defend myself. To make the transition from a black environment to a white environment, I had to go through a character change. I had to assume a machoistic [sic] tendency.
>
> I'm outside looking for the No. 27 bus, and then I hear them: "Get the nigger!" They ran at me from Anfield, all the way up Hall Lane, about a hundred of them…Liverpool fans. The same team I was there supporting.[163]

Therefore, if Orange parades provided the temporary frameworks within which overt sectarianism could be articulated, then the football ground (as a space in which the carnivalesque was fully indulged) also provided, as Back et al. have suggested, 'one of the largest public arenas in which racism could be openly expressed'; a space in which racist tendencies could be clearly vocalised like nowhere else in the city.[164] As such, during this period Liverpool's stadiums exemplified the informal apartheid that dictated the wider social geography of the city.[165] And nor was race the only divisive feature of the city's football grounds. For female spectators, the material space of the stadium represented an intricate series of negotiations with a variety of masculine cultures.

Gender and the Post-Lang Stadium

In his critically acclaimed glimpse at the state of football in the late 1960s, Arthur Hopcraft, in analysing the constitution of those who inhabited the terraces, suggested that 'the football fan is not just a watcher. His sweat and his nerves work on football, and his spirit can be made rich or destitute by it.'[166] Hopcraft's seminal nineteen-page description of "the fan" remains one of the most memorable and evocative depictions of the postwar terrace; a deft

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[163] Interview with Paul and Steve Skeete in Hill, *Out of His Skin*, p. 119 and pp. 124-125
[164] Back, Crabbe and Solomos, 'Racism in Football', p. 71
[165] D. Hill, 'From Barnes to Camara: Football, Identity and Racism in Liverpool' in J. Williams, S. Hopkins and C. Long (eds), *Passing Rhythms: Liverpool FC and the Transformation of Football* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), p. 139
[166] Hopcraft, *The Football Man*, p. 197

illustration of what he labelled as 'this monstrous, odorous national pet.'[167] At no point, however, did his description stray outside of the masculine third-person. For Hopcraft naturally assumed, like many others before and after him, that the football spectator was male. A sixteen-year-old female Aston Villa fan, when interviewed by David Robins, neatly summarised the symbolic and material gender boundaries of the stadium:

> When you go to the Villa, at the ground entrance, as you walk in to pay your money, it's got BOYS, OAPS, and MEN over the turnstiles.[168]

Even into the late 1970s, McClure found that the policing of Merseyside's stadiums was carried out by male officers only.[169] The space of the stadium and the cultures within it were, therefore, often deemed to be exclusively masculine.

Hopcraft's depiction may be taken as emblematic of a much wider problem in the history of postwar sport in Britain, and especially that of spectatorship and the football stadium. Carrie Dunn has dubbed it the problem of 'malestream' academic research, which concentrates too heavily on masculinity and deviant hooligan behaviour.[170] In this picture, female fans are seen as marginalised, abnormal, or, worse still, not seen at all. In reality, female spectatorship has a long history and recent feminist approaches from Rob Lewis, Stacey Pope and John Williams have challenged the assumption of a wholly masculine stadium.[171] However, no study has yet investigated women's role within the stadium at the crucial juncture of the 1970s and 1980s, a point at which Anne Coddington suggests that grounds became 'a haven for racist, sexist thugs', in which 'facilities for women were quite simply appalling', and when women were widely perceived to have evacuated the stadium-space out

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[167] *Ibid*, p. 189
[168] Robins, *We Hate Humans*
[169] Speaking to a policewoman, McClure was told of how she'd 'like to be allowed batons and to do duty at football matches.' McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 449
[170] C. Dunn, *Female Football Fans: Community, Identity, Sexism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p, 2
[171] R. Lewis, ''Our Lady Specialists at Pike Lane': Female Spectators in Early English Professional Football, 1880-1914', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 26.15 (2009), pp. 2161-2181; S. Pope and J. Williams, '"White shoes to a football match!": Female Experiences of Football's Golden Age in England', *Transformative Works and Cultures*, 6.1 (2011)

of fear.[172] While this section cannot within the limits of time and space make authoritative claims regarding women's experiences of stadiums *as a whole*, it aims to commence discussions on the topic from the perspective of Liverpool's stadiums. Interviews and oral histories conducted by sociologists paint a much more nuanced picture. Female spectators engaged with terrace culture in ways that undermined the stereotyped and gendered depictions of femininity often assumed of them during this period, whilst simultaneously questioning popular representations of the terrace as overwhelmingly macho and aggressive.

The overtly masculine and aggressive portrayals of the stadium in the media made the ground an intimidating and daunting experience for many women, although this should be contextualised within a more general decline in attendances. Whereas the exclusions faced by female spectators were less obvious than those endured by the black community, women undoubtedly formed a minority amongst the crowd. Although no official figures exist, estimates appear to extend Pope and Williams's conclusions that women remained a significant and noteworthy minority. A 1983 *General Household Survey*, for example, estimated that women accounted for one in every six spectators, whereas by 1989 that figure was judged to be between ten and fifteen per cent.[173] Locally, these figures appeared somewhat bleaker. The *Daily Post* suggested in 1977 that of the proportion of local women who identify themselves as fans, only thirty-two per cent ever go to games, of which none attended 'regularly.'[174] For many women, the reality was one of verbal or sexual abuse, often delivered with an anonymity afforded by the standing terrace. For example, in speaking to one male Liverpool fan, Robins simultaneously highlighted the perceived physical dangers *and* sexist attitudes that worked to exclude women from the terrace:

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[172] A. Coddington, *One of the Lads: Women Who Follow Football* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), p. 2; D. Canter, M. Comber and D. Uzzel, *Football in its Place: An Environmental Psychology of Football Grounds* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 20

[173] Canter, Comber and Uzzel, *Football in its Place*, p. 20; *Hansard*, 7th March 1989, vol. 504, col. 1461

[174] Regularly was ten or more games a season. *Liverpool Daily Post*, 11th April 1977

> I wouldn't take my girlfriend. Kids would be trying to feel their arse all t'time. They can get raped in the Kop. When Liverpool score everybody dives on 'em. You can't stop it. The ones that do go must enjoy it.[175]

By the mid-1980s, poor female attendances were a problem worrying the council, who commented that despite the efforts of both clubs, 'the grounds are still very much male preserves.'[176] The absence of women was viewed, both locally and nationally, as a major cause of (and an inherent solution to) poor behaviour on the part of spectators. The council suggested that 'one reason why football suffers from an aggressive macho atmosphere is the relative lack of female supporters.' The Merseyside clubs should, it argued, 'be encouraged to continue to make overtures to female fans and to develop adequate facilities to cope with a larger proportion of female supporters.'[177] Nationally, Liz Crolley and Cathy Long have suggested that government ministers hoped that attracting higher proportions of women could 'have a potentially civilising effect on rowdy male spectators.'[178] For example, in a 1989 House of Lords debate on the proposed introduction of membership schemes for football clubs, Lord Hesketh called for women to be exempt, as their very presence would 'have a calming effect on the male of the species and would therefore have a calming effect on football hooligans.'[179] Lord Lusby agreed, suggesting that women 'bring a more civilised influence to proceedings and make it into a family occasion.'[180]

The allusion that female spectators could regulate aggressive male behaviours relied on the presumption that they themselves were less inclined to violence. Female experiences of the terrace were varied, and violence and aggression *was not* the sole reserve of male spectators. When asked the question of what the girls were doing while the boys were fighting, Robins answered that, whereas many 'conformed to a feminine stereotype of

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[175] Robins, *We Hate Humans*
[176] Liverpool City Council, *Football and the Community*, p. 10
[177] *Ibid*, p. 20, p. 10
[178] Crolley and Long, 'Sitting Pretty?', p. 200. See also A. King, *The End of the Terraces: The Transformation of English Football in the 1990s* (London: Leicester University Press, 2002), chap. 8
[179] *Hansard*, 14th March 1989, vol. 505, col. 97
[180] *Hansard*, 14th March 1989, vol. 505, col. 98

involvement', others 'were up there with them', sticking the boot in.[181] Many female spectators were more than capable of protecting themselves if the situation called for it, or more than willing to mix it on their own terms. As one female fan told Robins, 'some girls go in packs. They are out for trouble. They even join in the fighting with the boys, or encourage 'em.'[182] Crucially then, Robins and Cohen found that women inhabited the stadium in many roles. Just as the changing demographics of the postwar terrace opened up a space for younger fans and disorderly activities, it also dismantled what had traditionally been a male preserve. The changing make-up of the terrace brought greater opportunities for female spectatorship. Some followed traditional patterns. Kevin, for example, had developed the routine of regularly bringing his fiancée to the match. For Robins and Cohen, 'although both were taught to see football as a male preserve, there was a place for steady girlfriends.'[183] On the other hand, the erosion of older patterns of spectatorship presented new and evolving opportunities for female supporters. For example, Robins and Cohen found that Arsenal's North Bank during the early 1970s 'included girls, many of them unattached' and, just as youth gangs were beginning to adopt their own ends, so the researchers noticed the embryonic development of 'girls' ends'.[184]

For women who attended football matches at Liverpool, memories of the terrace contradict the negative and violent media images forwarded at the time. Instead, watching a match could be an inherently warm and positive experience, devoid of fear. Regularly attending during the 1960s and early 1970s, Pam:

> Wasn't afraid of terrace culture. On the contrary, it could be very female friendly.[185]

The close physical proximity of the standing terrace, far from representing sexual danger, brought a sense of community and solidarity. Cathy, who attended Liverpool matches during the 1970s, commented that:

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[181] Robins, *We Hate Humans*
[182] *Ibid*. See also Hewitson, *The Liverpool Boys are in Town*
[183] Robins and Cohen, *Knuckle Sandwich*, p. 138, p. 143
[184] *Ibid*, p. 138
[185] Interview with Pam in Crolley and Long, 'Sitting Pretty?', p. 202

> I still miss the closeness we had with other people who we stood with on the Kop. Some people said seating would encourage more women to the game, but we liked the atmosphere on the terraces as much as the men did.[186]

Another attendee, Jane, highlighted the welcoming atmosphere, suggesting that:

> On top of it all the men made us feel special, looked after us, protected us from swaying crowds and generally spoiled us. We became part of a big family, our football family.[187]

That female fans were cosseted by the terrace still illustrates a sense of difference between the two sets of spectators – the special treatment described by Jane is, in hindsight, less preferential than equal treatment – although this evidence illustrates the complex and competing masculinities that inhabited the terrace, undermining its image as a space reserved solely for violence and aggression. This sense of difference was highlighted by Jane, who suggested that female spectators existed simultaneously as part of, yet separate from the more macho aspects of terrace culture. Her answer once again points to the existence of several competing cultural landscapes surrounding the football match at the time, and is illustrative of how football made comprehensive and varied changes to the urban landscape depending on age, location, gender and race. Jane explained:

> The match atmosphere attracted us in the same way as it would attract the lads, but we were different. There were never any pressures on us to be 'macho', to 'act like men', or to join in the fighting in Stanley Park and Utting Avenue after the game. We could go along to watch with immunity.[188]

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[186] Interview with Cathy in *Ibid*, p. 203
[187] Interview with Jane in *Ibid*, p. 203
[188] Interview with Jane in *Ibid*, p. 203

Conclusion

The experiences of female spectators demonstrate how the material sporting landscape and the discursive cultures and practices that stemmed from football wrought significant effects on the inner city. The stadium – embodied as a single, unitary space – had various meanings to different groups and represents what Soja termed thirdspace; a location grounded in both the real and the imaginary, where 'everything comes together: the abstract and the concrete, the knowable and the unimaginable, structure and agency, mind and body.'[189] Female spectators simultaneously undermined stereotyped views regarding their own femininity *and* simplistic perceptions of the stadium as the sole domain of aggressive masculinities. Instead, many women were welcomed onto the terrace in a process that reveals the stadium as a space of competing identities and of relational processes through which notions of masculinity and femininity were constructed, contested and redefined.[190] That female spectators walked a fine line between inclusion and exclusion is evident. The position of other groups was not so ambiguous. For white, working-class adolescents and young men, the stadium was an inclusive, creative and productive cultural space, a public social arena in which to build connections, friendships and subcultures. Their story suggests that inner cities of the 1970s and 1980s were much more active cultural centres than a first glance at their derelict and desolate surroundings might suggest. However, precisely whom these cultures accepted or even tolerated is crucial to understanding the stadium's complex social and cultural role. For the local black population, Merseyside's sporting landscape and the cultures and practices associated with it remained off-limits; the most severe point of marginalisation in a series of exclusionary geographies that governed their everyday lives.

Stadiums also represented a point of considerable unease for the authorities. As a period widely regarded as a nadir in domestic football, hooliganism occurred, to varying degrees of scale, in cities up and down the country. Like many others, Liverpool's urban renewal programmes had the

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[189] E. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 56-57

[190] Crolley and Long, 'Sitting Pretty?', p. 206. See also Giulianotti, *Football*, p. 156

unintended consequence of altering the demographic make-up of the terrace. Gone, in many cases, was the established, middle-aged spectator, replaced by a younger audience at greater ease with disorder. Increasing football-related violence (or at least a decreasing tolerance for it) led the stadium and the surrounding streets to be seen as some of the most acute points of inner city crisis, fundamental to its social and moral collapse. As a result, a series of changes to the stadium, and to how surrounding areas were regulated and policed, were installed in order to combat disorder and, crucially, to control the behaviour and movement of certain inner city populations, trends to be explored in the following chapters. That their success was so sporadic, constantly undermined by the shifting nature of disorder, demonstrates how sporting landscapes remained a key battleground in the fight against the perceived effects of urban decline. That it was the trend towards younger spectators brought about by renewal programmes that was, in part, to blame is significant. As urban decline soon followed urban renewal, youth became an increasingly prominent actor on the inner city stage. The specific role of the child and the adolescent in the space of the inner city, examined briefly in the form of the boys' pen and the scally, is the key point of analysis for the following chapter. In the same way that unruly football crowds became the apex of much wider concerns, the experience of growing up in the inner city was shaped by a series of anxieties regarding how youth was simultaneously *endangered* and *dangerous*. Youth, like football spectators, reacted and adapted to, and evaded, these processes in a variety of ways.

Chapter Four – The £1,000,000 Problem: Youth Experience of Renewal and Decline

Youth in the Postwar City

Writing in the *Guardian* in 1972, Merete Bates reported on a surreal scene in the Great George Street Congregational Church, a grand and Corinthian-styled monument nestled in Liverpool's Chinatown, behind the gargantuan Anglican Cathedral. Services had stopped some five years previously, by which point Bates found a 'black, derelict hulk of a building, daubed with graffiti, footed by long-forgotten paved grave-stones on a junction in slum Liverpool. Windows broken or boarded, steps chipped, damp creeping round the joints.' To passers-by, the building was one of many empty properties that littered the city. Walking through the doors – 'metal plated and bolted like a safe' – Bates found Jon Hendricks, *Melody Maker's* number one international jazz vocalist for 1971, preparing to perform a four-hour set to a group of Liverpool schoolchildren.[1]

Fourteen months after the congregation had last graced the church, Great George's was reopened as a community arts centre, the first of its kind in Britain, in a neighbourhood described as 'rough, generally run-down and depressing, though not the roughest by Liverpool standards.'[2] The centre's explicit aim was to get children off the surrounding streets. Bill Harpe, the director, suggested that 'the place is purposely kept derelict so that a kid feels he can come even if he has got ragged trousers.' The first few years of the centre's existence, however, were challenging, subsisting on a shoestring budget of grants and donations whilst fending off the threat of the building's raw materials being pilfered. The centre was, according to the *Guardian*, 'rejected by both ends of the community: the respectable, as a dirty footprint on a polished doorstep, and the unrespectable, as occupying possible plunder.'[3] Most poignantly, Great George's struggled to command the support of the very children it was designed to help. Talking to several of them on the centre's steps, Bates attempted to understand the children's repeated acts of vandalism;

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[1] *Guardian*, 18th March 1972
[2] *Guardian*, 25th September 1969
[3] *Ibid*

the building, she was told, 'was ours. It was our camp. We didn't want anyone to take it from us.'[4] Children, it would appear, were reimagining and appropriating inner city spaces as their own territory.

The experience of renewal and decline was far from uniform, and one of the most significant cleavages was across the category of age. Great George's was illustrative of a variety of concerns that surrounded the inner city child by the late 1960s. How best to create a suitable environment for urban children became of utmost importance, though planners, architects, councils, third-party institutions and local children all held competing conceptions of space and place. By the late 1960s, the particular ways of thinking about the child and the city that had governed urban renewal programmes were reaching, according to Mathew Thomson, 'a point of radicalisation, crisis, and to a degree, collapse.'[5] GGCAP was at the forefront of an increasingly influential radical social theory and grass-roots politics that encouraged a rethinking of the relationship between democracy, planning and the child's perspective, part of a growing reaction that regarded play as central in helping communities to reclaim their city.[6] However, while the centre claimed to be more sensitive to the needs of local children than previous expert and paternalistic approaches, the response of those interviewed on its steps illustrates that a severe disjuncture between the adult's city and children's city remained.

Adopting an approach more sensitive to the discrepancies of age holds out much promise and, in this context, two specific subgenres of literature are useful – namely, histories and geographies of childhood. In recent years there has been growing recognition that in contradistinction to categories of analysis such as race, gender and class, age is seldom represented as a central historical category.[7] Yet as social, cultural and historical constructions, age represents a system of cultural values and power relationships that are embedded in

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[4] *Guardian*, 18th March 1972

[5] M. Thomson, *Lost Freedom: Landscape of the Child and the British Postwar Settlement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 185

[6] Projects like these were setting up across the inner city, such as the Bronte in Everton and the Rathbone Centre in the Dingle, the latter of which was evocatively captured in a 1976 student documentary. See *What's So Funny About Liverpool?* NWFA FN 7084.

[7] L. Paris, 'Through the Looking Glass: Age, Stages and Historical Analysis', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 1.1 (2008), p. 112

institutions, social practices, law and public policy.[8] Likewise, in stressing the spatial as well as temporal specificities of childhood, Holloway and Valentine have called for a more explicit focus on the 'everyday spaces through which children's identities and lives are made and remade.'[9] Owain Jones stresses that geographies of childhood exist alongside, within and in constant interaction with adult geographies. It is from the interaction between the two that the distinctive spatial practices of youth emerge. If adult geographies are rigid and powerfully embedded there may be little chance for children to build their own. However, if adult geographies can be 'more permeable, heterogeneous and tolerant of otherness, then children have the chance to express this in the creation of their own geographies within the adult world.'[10] The combination of these genres has led to insightful scholarship on the relationship between youth and the city, though few approach the topic from postwar perspectives, despite the fact that, to paraphrase Jones, the postwar city was a setting where adult geographies became permeable in the face of renewal and decline.[11]

A focus on childhood in the city is important given that the child became subject to intensive forms of governmentality through urban planning. Unlike religion and the church, the child seized the attention of postwar planners. As discourses regarding the welfare state centred on the rights, health and vulnerability of children, Kozlovsky and Thomson have demonstrated that the figure of the child played a central discursive role in discussions of urban reconstruction.[12] For a short period, the 'theme of the child became the defining

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[8] P. Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962). See also C. Heywood, 'Centuries of Childhood: An Anniversary – And an Epitaph?', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 3.3. (2010), pp. 341-365

[9] S. Holloway and G. Valentine, 'Children's Geographies and the New Social Studies of Childhood' in S. Holloway and G. Valentine (eds), *Children's Geographies: Playing, Living, Learning* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 9-11

[10] O. Jones, 'Melting Geography: Purity, Disorder, Childhood and Space' in S. Holloway and G. Valentine (eds), *Children's Geographies: Playing, Living, Learning* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 43-44

[11] D. Nasaw, *Children of the City: At Work and At Play* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); A. Davin, *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and Street in London, 1870-1914* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996); H. Shore, *Artful Dodgers: Youth and Crime in Early Nineteenth Century London* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2002). Rare postwar examples are E. Schneider, *Vampires, Dragons and Egyptian Kings: Youth Gangs in Postwar New York* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999); Thomson, *Lost Freedom*

[12] R. Kozlovsky, *The Architectures of Childhood: Children, Modern Architecture and Reconstruction in Postwar England* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 2; Thomson, *Lost Freedom*; M.

medium for theorising urbanism' as planning authorities attempted to regulate and control children's activities and movements within the city.[13] Put simply, planners perceived their best opportunity yet to shift the child from "the street" – long seen as a corrupting space – to the appropriate and planned landscape of renewal and the nurturing space of the home.[14] At the same time, however, debates about youth and childhood took on a 'specific identity around delinquency, aggression and certain forms of play.'[15] As Osgerby has stated, youth has been subject to more public scrutiny than any other social group since 1945 and, if representations and debates about youth have encapsulated the scale and dynamics of wider social change, then it is important to note how Britain's unfolding, hegemonic and pervasive sense of political, economic and social crisis crystallised around issues of urban youth in the 1970s.[16] In many respects, this follows what Chris Jenks describes as childhood's Apollonian and Dionysian schism, or, namely, that of children as little angels or little devils.[17] City planning strove towards the Apollonian fantasy, whereas the reality of blitzed and battered urban environments invited Dionysian comparisons.

Crucially, if children were at the forefront of the state's intentions then they were seldom included in the actual process of planning, resulting in a landscape inappropriate to the nature of children's play. For example, writing for the *Picture Post* in 1946, Lady Allen of Hurtwood bemoaned that council-designed playgrounds were 'a place of utter boredom for children'; little wonder that they 'preferred the dumps of rough wood and piles of bricks and

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Gutman and N. Connick-Smith (eds), *Designing Modern Childhoods: History, Space, and the Material Culture of Children* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2008)

[13] *Ibid*, p. 2. See also CH5

[14] Institutional histories are outside of the remit of this chapter. See, for example, J. Fink, 'Inside a Hall of Mirrors: Residential Care and the Shifting Constructions of Childhood in Mid-Twentieth Century Britain', *Pedagogia Historica*, 44 (2008), pp. 287-307; M. Lambert, *'Problem Families' and the Post-war Welfare State in the North West of England, 1943-74* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2016)

[15] Highmore, 'Playgrounds and Bombsites', p. 330

[16] B. Osgerby, *Youth in Britain since 1945* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), p. 1. Thankfully, recent histories are deconstructing simplistic moral panic narratives surrounding postwar youth. See S. Todd and H. Young, 'Baby-Boomers to 'Beanstalkers': Making the Modern Teenager in Postwar Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 9.3 (2012), pp. 451-467; Osgerby, ''Bovver' Books of the 1970s', pp. 299-331

[17] C. Jenks, *Childhood* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), pp. 62-70

rubbish of the bombsites, or the dangers and excitements of the traffic.'[18] Moreover, councils, hamstrung by funding shortages and bureaucratic inefficiencies, proved unable to regulate the emerging backdrop of urban decline. However, if the adult world retreated from a landscape supposedly devoid of economic, social or cultural use, into this vacuum stepped youth, who exploited the decay of the city and colonised spaces for their own benefit, disregarding established ways and boundaries and instead laying claim to a series of unofficial, anonymous or inconsequential urban spaces. As Liverpool attempted to renew its urban fabric and manage its decline, these spaces and the opportunities that came with them became progressively more common. As a result, the child developed into a highly visible actor on the inner city stage. In this regard, the evidence presented here challenges the notion of childhood's progressive retreat from the street; a narrative in which children become increasingly confined and to which urban renewal programmes are central in what amounts to a successive and repeating myth of an urban paradise lost.[19] As the twentieth century wore on, childhood undoubtedly became more restrictive *for some*. For certain inner city communities however, this was simply not the case.

One of the main challenges facing histories of childhood is how to creatively devise ways into the experiences of children 'who notoriously do not speak for themselves or leave records.'[20] Leena Alanen has stressed the importance of viewing children as social actors and agents in their own lives, yet many sources merely reflect adult outlooks, becoming, as Hugh Cunningham suggests, not histories of childhood but of what adults have done to children.[21] In short, retracing youth experience requires a wide variety of sources. In what follows, planning and council documents are used to peer into what local authorities *thought* children required, whereas oral histories and street

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[18] M. Allen, 'Why Not Use Our Bombsites Like This?', *Picture Post*, 16th November 1946, pp. 26-27

[19] See Jones, 'Melting Geography' and H. Matthews, M. Limb and M. Taylor, 'The 'Street' as 'Thirdspace'' in Holloway and Valentine (eds), *Children's Geographies* and Thomson, *Lost Freedom*

[20] P. Stearns, 'Challenges in the History of Childhood', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 1.1 (2008), p. 35

[21] L. Alanen, 'Rethinking Childhood', *Acta Sociologica*, 31.1 (1988), p. 60; H. Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood* (London: BBC Books, 2006), p. 16

photography are used to position the child as an active and knowing agent. Within this particular context it is worth noting Harry Hendrick's statement that children's *actions* provide a kind of public record. Though negotiated through the prism of memory and nostalgia, oral reflections on childhood prove an invaluable way of reconstructing youth action in the city, suggesting that even young children, incapable of verbalising their experiences in official documentation, remembered activities that demonstrate a considerable mobility and agency within the city.[22] Likewise, street photography acts as a kind of documentary record of these actions, with Colin Ward noting how it is 'through the eye of the photographer that we can see how children colonise every last inch of left-over urban space for their own purposes.'[23] Regardless of the nostalgic meanings these images carry, their basic root in the reality of the everyday cultures of urban children – as Thomson states, they convey the simple social fact that children *occupied* the street – means they are a compelling document of childhood resilience.[24]

The child's fashioning of a lived space therefore followed a distinct logic from that of planners, architects or even local adults – a rupture aptly summarised by Kim Rasmussen's distinction between "places for children" and "children's places", which will be incorporated into the structure of what follows. The former are places designed *by* adults *for* children, whereas the latter are the places to which children attribute meaning and experience.[25] Section I investigates the various institutional responses to the place of the child in the inner city, illustrating the wide disparity between the landscape of parks, playgrounds and open space that planners envisioned through programmes of renewal, and the eventual dearth of facilities that greeted local children in reality. Section II explores the rich cultures of play that continued regardless, demonstrating how youth manipulated, colonised and appropriated

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[22] H. Hendrick, 'The Child as a Social Actor in Historical Sources: Problems of Identification and Interpretation' in P. Christensen and A. James (eds), *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 46

[23] C. Ward, *The Child in the City* (London: Architectural Press, 1978), p. 210

[24] Thomson, *Lost Freedom*, pp. 22-27

[25] K. Rasmussen, 'Places for Children – Children's Places', *Childhood*, 11.2 (2004), p. 166. For a similar argument, see H. Childress, 'Teenagers, Territory and the Appropriation of Space', *Childhood*, 11.2 (2004), pp. 195-206

spaces for their own benefit, carving out places of significance irrespective of formal provision. It concludes that, far from being destroyed, these cultures survived, 'changing their form in innumerable adaptations to exploit environmental changes.'[26] Finally, Section III investigates how the material formation of the inner city encouraged a series of more criminal behaviours and how perceptions of the area as a morally pollutive environment infected notions of youth activities and vice versa. The result was the development of a strong metonymic stereotype in the form of the obscure and poorly defined image of the juvenile delinquent. Vandalism, juvenile delinquency and their connections to the 'concrete jungle', much like disorderly spectators, were central rhetorical tropes in understanding the inner city's collapse, and through an investigation into their representations this chapter proposes that the boundaries between delinquency and play were blurred. Instead, the charge often related to conflicts between various parties, young and old, over what was deemed to be the normative and appropriate use of urban space.

As a final note, what follows covers the play of small children right through to the activities of teenagers on the cusp of adulthood, although most fall within the range of school age. The particular and distinctive nature of separate age groups are taken into account, with 'child' and 'adolescent' used to generally distinguish between age categories, whereas 'youth' is used as a wider, catch-all term. However, their oft-indistinct boundaries and their fluid, obscure and negotiated nature is fully acknowledged. Moreover, this chapter contributes to understandings of *the child* – described by Thomson as an 'idealised and sometimes abstract figure' – through Section I and the latter portion of Section III.[27] However, the rest of the chapter shifts the focus onto individual *children* and their urban experiences, illustrating the disjuncture between the childhood ideal and the lived reality. Likewise, the internal differences within these terms along the lines of gender and race are significant. Youth and childhood is, of course, far from homogenous and the perspectives of girls and minority groups, though harder to access, have been incorporated into the chapter wherever possible through oral histories and photography. The

[26] Ward, *The Child in the City*, p. 89
[27] Thomson, *Lost Freedom*, p. 9

result is to say that not *all* inner city children took part in *all* of the described activities, but that these cultures and practices were significant and common enough to leave a lasting mark in the memory of individuals, communities and in the documentary record.

Section I – Liverpool's "Places for Children"

In Liverpool, the supposedly intrinsic links between youth delinquency and the inner city were made from the very earliest attempts at postwar reconstruction. Mooted as a grossly inadequate environment for youth, inner city districts' ramshackle and overcrowded nature and lack of social amenities were viewed as a major cause of youth crime. For example, in 1951 the University Settlement Group suggested that whereas there was no direct causal connection between bad housing and delinquency, 'it is obvious that where facilities for play are limited a great number of children are likely to commit minor offences and do damage as they wander the streets.'[28] Liverpool University sociologist J. B. Mays found that the commonality of street games was due to the 'almost entire absence of lawful sites where children could play.'[29] The only realistic space set aside was the walk-up tenements' central curtilage, but Mays noted that even here 'football and cricket are prohibited by the Housing Authority.'[30] Many local police officers interviewed confessed that, as fathers themselves, 'they felt embarrassed at having to interfere with street games or games on waste land which they were obliged by the law to do so.'[31] For children, then, Liverpool's inner districts proved to be a space in which their presence was a point of both necessity *and* transgression.

The solutions that emerged were inherently spatialized. Well-planned leisure space for the specific benefit of children was felt to be essential and for planners, politicians, academics and local communities, Liverpool's imminent redevelopment programme provided the opportunity to ease longstanding anxieties around youth and urban space. Like many other British cities, early attempts at creating satisfactory spaces for children focused on the construction of playgrounds, and adventure playgrounds in particular.[32] In utilising cleared bombsites, which Liverpool possessed in abundance, adventure playgrounds

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[28] *Juvenile Delinquency: report of discussions of a University Settlement Group, 1951*, LRO 364 JUV
[29] J. B. Mays, Appendix B: A Study of a Police Division in *Growing Up in the City: A Study of Juvenile Delinquency in an Urban Neighbourhood* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1954), p. 185, LRO 364 MAY
[30] *Ibid*, p. 185
[31] *Ibid*, p. 185
[32] R. Kozlovsky, 'Adventure Playgrounds and Postwar Reconstruction' in (eds), M. Gutman and N. Connick-Smith, *Designing Modern Childhoods: History, Space and the Material Culture of Children* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2008), pp. 171-190

allowed children to create their own spaces of entertainment out of waste material and basic construction tools. For Allen, their most vocal supporter, this was not simply a pragmatic attempt to utilise the bombsite but a conscious endeavour to insert morality, purpose and surveillance into an otherwise ambiguous urban space. The task was keenly taken up by a group of sociologists from Liverpool University, who began a trial scheme in nearby Rathbone Street in 1953.

Four years later, the team understatedly admitted that the programme 'could not be honestly written up as a complete success story.'[33] They had struggled to maintain the interest of local children, local parents and the city council. After a few days, children abandoned the site and resumed their usual street-play, whereas the playground became the victim of vandalism and territorial squabbles between rival gangs. On the other hand, the council restricted leases on the land to a month-by-month basis due to the uncertain nature of the space, a policy that the team felt precluded long term planning and restricted capital expenditure. Furthermore, if the playground struggled to garner support from the intended parties, then the team were surprised to find other, unwanted sources of attention. The combination of donated cars and publicity 'drew a plague of spivs and scrap metal thieves', the team even discovering one man quietly dismantling the carburettor from the playground's car, having spotted the model in the *Echo*.[34] Faced with the project's failure, the academics lashed out at the local community. Parents, fearful of the potential 'charges of 'big headedness' that would be levelled at anyone willing to assume responsibility', had shown little interest in the project.[35] As for the children, Mays evoked the Dionysian image of little devils:

> A tradition for creative play was lacking in the neighbourhood. Knocking things down, bashing, combat, aggression, destructiveness, had a much firmer hold on the minds and imaginations of the children than the

[33] R. Hodges, 'Preface' in J. B. Mays, *Adventure in Play: The Story of the Rathbone Street Adventure Playground* (Liverpool: Liverpool Council of Social Service, 1957), p. 3, LRO 796.1 MAY
[34] Mays, *Adventure in Play*, p. 14
[35] *Ibid*, p. 20

arduous toils of construction, creation, organisation, planning and design.[36]

In hindsight, the Rathbone scheme provided a foreboding warning of things to come. However, as the 1950s passed, city-planning authorities pushed on regardless, with the transformation of waste ground into attractive and useable open space a central feature of renewal plans. Both the IPPS and LCCP of 1965 stressed the inherent connections between open space and youth leisure provision in the central and inner residential areas. Neither report sugar-coated the issue. The city's 'principal failings', the LCCP suggested, 'are a shortage of parks and children's playgrounds, inadequate maintenance and ugly, even dangerous, surroundings.'[37] The result for communities was the 'gross over-use of yards and streets adjoining dwellings, the lack of opportunity for children to play and constant disturbance for the residents.'[38] To this end, the IPPS proposed a major park of at least 10 hectares within 400 metres of

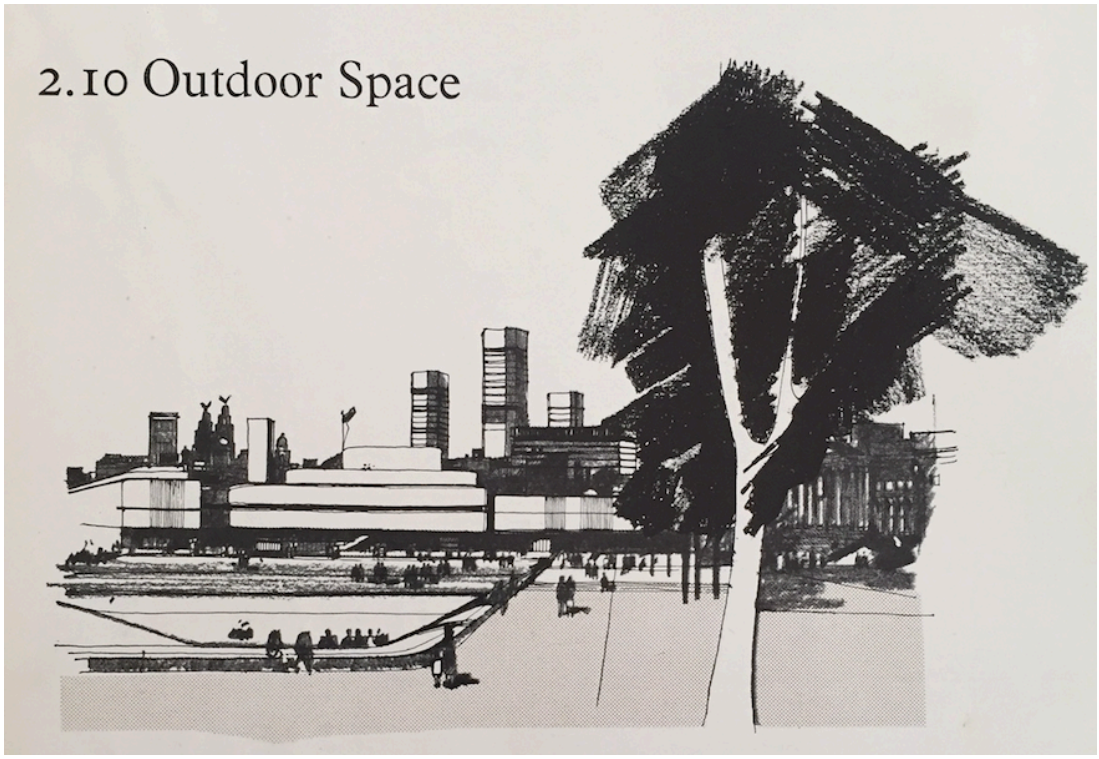

Image 4.1 – The LCCP's supervised landscape for children (1965)

[36] *Ibid*, p. 16
[37] City Centre Planning Group, *LCCP*, p. 32. See also F. Amos, *Central Residential Areas: Action Plans for Vauxhall, St Andrews and Cornwallis Areas* (Liverpool: Liverpool City Planning Department, 1967), p. 1, which described the surroundings as 'degenerate'.
[38] *Ibid*, p. 32

every home, whereas the LCCP set out an ambitious, stylish and interconnected system of courtyards, parks and promenades for the central areas.[39] Crucially, planning presented children in supervised, sterile and healthy modernist spaces, as displayed in Image 4.1. In specific reference to the residential areas of St Andrew's, Vauxhall and Cornwallis, the plans aimed to adapt the existing urban fabric by clearing industrial properties and utilising the space within large housing blocks to provide play areas, as well as exploit the fallow spaces of the proposed future city. For example, the Chief Planning Officer, Francis Amos, encouraged developments to 'capitalise on the space available underneath the elevated portions of the Inner Motorway, where provision for recreational facilities – gymnasia, covered play areas, could be made at relatively low cost', a similar scene of which is witnessed in Image 4.2.[40]

However, shifting economic fortunes, the changing priorities of planners and increasing community opposition resulted in severe financial constraints and sporadic play space provision. Indeed, Couch has suggested that one of the biggest failures of the IPPS and LCCP was in their provision of open space.[41] In short, the size of the disjuncture between planning rhetoric and planning reality was vast as the city failed to meet open space provision targets despite not setting the bar particularly high.[42] The National Playing Fields Association suggested an ideal of six acres of public open space per 1,000 people. Liverpool's target was an underwhelming two and a half acres, to which certain areas, like Everton and Brunswick entered the 1970s on less than an acre.[43] To make matters worse, even when open space was technically provided, often in the form of school fields – described by *Scottie Press* as 'small oasis's [sic]

[39] Bor, *IPPS*, pp. 82-88; City Centre Planning Group, *LCCP*, pp. 72-74
[40] Amos, *Action Plans for Vauxhall, St Andrews and Cornwallis*, p. 4
[41] Couch, *City of Change and Challenge*, p. 57
[42] *A Review of Open Spaces: Joint Report of the Director of Recreation and Open Spaces, Director of Education and City Planning Officer* (Liverpool: City Planning Department, 1988), p. 3 LRO HQ711.52 REC
[43] *Minutes of the Parks and Recreation Committee, 19th July 1972*, LRO 352 MIN/PAR/1/58; *Community Development Project: Implementation of the Urban Programme; Liverpool Neighbourhood Scheme; Assessment and Impact of Scheme and Review of Projects, 1972*, TNA AT 81/9. See also 'Appendix 5: Open Space' in Amos, *Action Plans for Vauxhall, St Andrews and Cornwallis*; B. Hedges and G. Courtenay, *Problems in Merseyside: A Structure Plan Survey* (London: Centre for Sample Surveys, 1975), pp. 19-20

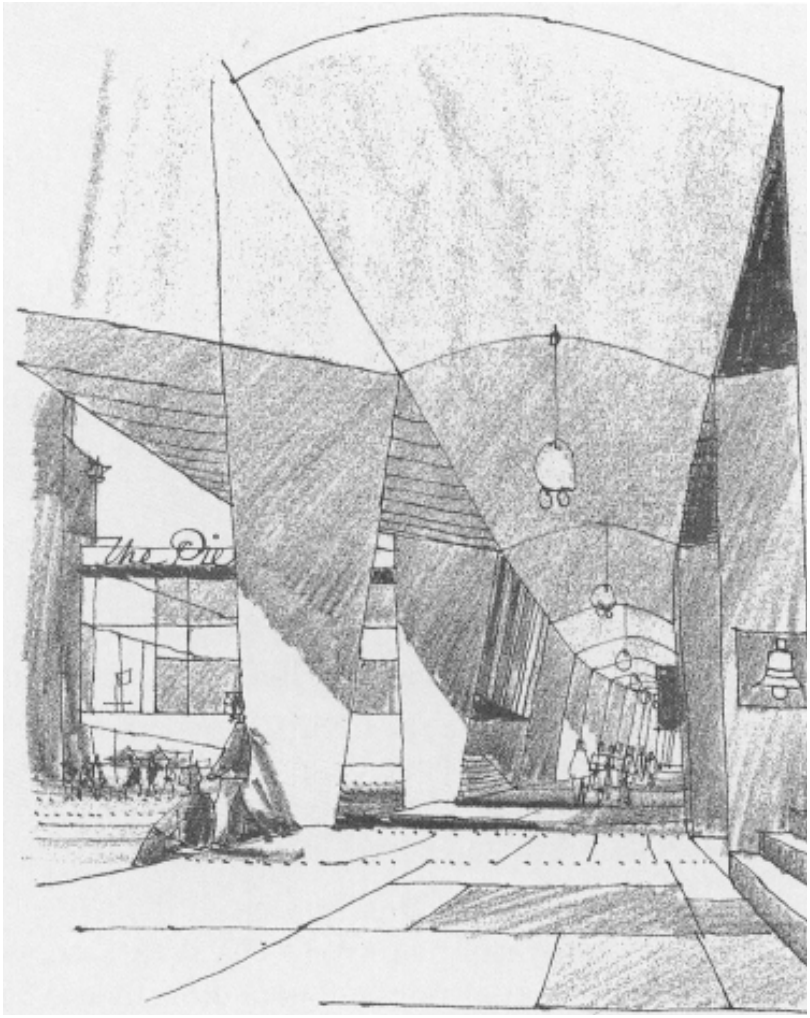

Image 4.2 – The potential leisure uses of an urban motorway underpass (1967)

scattered around the brick jungle we live in' – it remained off-limits.[44] Anne, a schoolteacher in the Dingle during the mid-1970s, explains:

> If they weren't doing something official in school then they'd be trespassing on school premises. It was all locked up.[45]

That council priorities were shifting from the late 1960s onwards was evident. For example, in submitting a grievance to the city's Parks and Recreations Committee in 1971, an annoyed resident of Kirkdale complained that nearby waste ground could be developed into a variety of social amenities for the community. The Council's response was pithy and abrupt. 'In an ideal world', the Committee stated, 'the site would doubtless be acquired and laid out

[44] *Scottie Press*, Issue 21, November 1972
[45] Interview with Anne Redden, 27/08/2015, pp. 15-16

for open space purposes.' However, once financial constraints were taken into account, the Planning Officer's view was that 'it would be wrong for the Council's limited resources to be dissipated on such a scheme. He recommends that no action be taken.'[46] That same year, the Committee admitted that it had fallen short of its aim to provide 321 playgrounds across Liverpool, running an impressive deficit of 212.[47] Moreover, the conditions of many existing playgrounds left much to be desired. The council struggled to employ and retain enough watchmen due to what it described as unattractive conditions of work.[48] In 1965 Amos found not playgrounds in the central residential areas but 'the contorted relics of swings and slides.'[49] A decade later, the Department of the Environment-sponsored Inner Area Studies team discovered likewise, with 'no playgrounds that could be described as in a good condition' or have 'been expected to provide much opportunity for play.'[50] In some cases playgrounds had been completely removed. Frank, a childhood resident of Gerard Gardens, remembered:

> The blocks originally had swings and a playground for the children, but they had been taken down by the time I was growing up.[51]

As a result, many children were pushed out onto the street. Both Eddie, growing up in Canterbury Heights in the mid-1960s, and Nancy, a mother to two living in Garston in the mid-1970s, illustrated the scale of the problem:

> I'd never seen a tree or even much in the way of blades of grass. We had a little park in Shaw Street; that was the only place we had to play.
>
> There was nowhere for the kids to play out other than the street, which had a lot of traffic going through to the docks – big wagons down a narrow street.[52]

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[46] *Minutes of the Parks and Recreation Committee, 10th June 1971*, LRO 352 MIN/PAR/1/57
[47] *Ibid*
[48] *Minutes of the Parks and Recreation Committee, 1st February 1967*, LRO 352 MIN/PAR/1/53
[49] City Centre Planning Group, *LCCP*, p. 32
[50] H. Wilson and L. Womersley, *Liverpool Inner Area Study: Inner Area Play, report by the consultants* (London: Department of the Environment, 1977), p. 4
[51] Interview with Frank Carlyle, p. 4
[52] Interview with Eddie Cotton, 27/07/2015, p. 2; Interview with Nancy Williams, 09/10/2015, p. 40

Moreover, the provision of playgrounds and leisure centres ignored a variety of nuanced micro-geographies that rendered any sort of quantitative evaluation of play facilities meaningless. Put simply, certain children found certain areas off limits, a fact to which play provision in the city seemed oblivious. The IAS consultants explained that 'while there are at least two or three playgrounds that children in the area could use, each child is probably restricted in the playgrounds to which he could go.' A child living in Sidney Gardens, they suggested could not go to the nearby action adventure playground, 'since he would have to go through the Chatsworth Estate – alien territory.'[53] These intricate childhood territories – which, as will be explored below, were often affiliated with gang violence – profoundly affected how play provision could be used, if at all. Eddie, then a youth in Tuebrook, explains:

> Gangs in Liverpool were rife. So as a kid you couldn't go to, say, Walton without being challenged, or Breck Road even. We were from yards away but we'd run the gauntlet because their gang would look for Tuebrook.[54]

The sparse provision of facilities would further encourage territorial squabbles. Just as the Rathbone Street team had found in the mid-1950s, the presence of facilities in one part of the city drew in youths from other, more deprived areas with predictable results. For example, a 1973 youth services report explained that both Netherley and Speke 'suffer from gangs of bored, disaffected young people roaming the area.' The problem, they went on to suggest, recurred throughout the city; 'where one area is well provided for, and a neighbouring one is not, young people naturally converge, and all too often trouble results.'[55] The report was clear in its blame. A scarcity of resources for children was driving competition for territory, transforming local youth rivalries into 'battles for domination of the one available facility.'[56]

The IAS team was withering in its criticism. They found the council lacked a formal play policy, or even 'an ideology which informs their actions',

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[53] Wilson and Womersley, *Liverpool Inner Area Study: Inner Area Play*, p. 17
[54] Interview with Eddie Cotton, 27/07/2015, p. 24
[55] *Last but not least – essentials for a creative Community Youth Service, September 1973*, LRO 369.4 YOU
[56] *Ibid*

leading to provision being delivered on an ad hoc basis 'rather than as a result of long term planning on the basis of need.'[57] Instead, bureaucratic confusion reigned, with responsibility shared (and shirked) across several departments, including Education, Recreation and Open Spaces, City Planning, Environmental Health, Housing and Community Development – a system generously described as 'complex and confusing to outsiders despite a certain internal logic.'[58] Nor was play a high priority, accounting for just 0.2 and five per cent of Education and Open Spaces' respective budgets. According to one report, project approval was a 'matter of spontaneous gestures.'[59] In light of these deficiencies, the early 1970s witnessed the emergence of a significant voluntary sector to provide and regulate play, and included the Great George's Community Action Project, as well as Merseyside Play Action Council (established in 1968 and 1972 respectively). Despite their stated aim of helping to develop facilities and pressuring the local authority into implementing certain standards, Wilson and Womersley found similar problems of organisation and coherence.

The IAS team judged the deficiencies in provision to be so substandard they felt it necessary to champion a local "Play on Wheels" scheme. Active between March 1974 and June 1976, the programme used a variety of inflatables, generators and disco equipment to take over liminal spaces for short periods of time in order to facilitate play, as seen from Images 4.3 and 4.4. POW undoubtedly had its merits, promoting the idea that play need not take place in pre-defined spaces, subversively claiming the city's interstices for children's leisure in a regulated and supervised fashion. It was, however, an implicit suggestion that in the absence of permanent facilities a mobile scheme would have to temporarily rectify environmental failures, parachuting onto 'key points in deprived areas, especially blocks of flats.'[60] The programme sporadically visited around forty sites within the confines of the study area before, tellingly, funding was cut as soon as responsibility was passed from the

[57] Wilson and Womersley, *Liverpool Inner Area Study: Inner Area Play*, p. 12
[58] *Ibid*, p. 4
[59] Figures valid for financial year of 1974/75. *Housing Finance Act 1972: draft of study of vacant land in Liverpool*
[60] *Community Action*, vol. 6, January-February 1973, pp. 16-17

Image 4.3 – Play on Wheels visits a street near Princes Park in Toxteth (mid 1970s)

Image 4.4 – A Play Bus arrives in a rundown Toxteth street (mid 1970s)

Department of the Environment to local government and the scheme was quietly shelved in the autumn of 1976.[61]

The continuation of poor housing conditions further pushed youth onto the street. In an intellectual environment that cherished the nurturing home as central to the child's psychological development, Kozlovsky has traced the planning techniques intended to make high-rise flats as child-friendly as possible, including the construction of maisonettes, which aimed to 'achieve higher densities while maintaining the advantages of the detached house for raising children.'[62] Maisonettes proved popular in Liverpool, though many of the new blocks proved woefully inadequate. By the late 1970s, forty per cent of all council flats in the city were deemed 'seriously unsatisfactory', whereas a 1980 report found that despite population losses 'overcrowding is a real problem due to the high incidence of large families' and a 'shortage of 3/4 bedroom properties.'[63] In his studies, Howard Parker found Everton's youth were rarely at home 'since the flat was "dead boring" and "full of whining kids."'[64] Moreover, poorly constructed flats suffered from soundproofing issues and damp, whereas communal facilities and play areas fared no better. For example, David Pullen, a community worker in the mid-1970s, found the pavilion in Crosbie Heights to be 'vandalised and gutted', complaints echoed by Lord Denning in his concluding remarks on the blocks to the House of Lords in 1977.[65] Similar issues were experienced in the interwar walk-up tenements, the conditions of which gradually deteriorated in the postwar era. In his study of St Andrew's Gardens, Parker evocatively described an archetypal scene, in which the mother of a 'typically large' family 'simply could not cope in her small, often grossly overcrowded, badly sound-proofed flat, if she kept all the kids indoors. There is no garden, no organized and supervised play space, not even a

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[61] Wilson and Womersley, *Liverpool Inner Area Study: Inner Area Play*, p. 43
[62] Kozlovsky, *The Architectures of Childhood*, p. 195
[63] Carmichael, *Central-Local Government Relations in the 1980s*, p. 144; Liverpool Social Services Department, *Children in Need: A Review of Childcare Services in the City of Liverpool: Report of the Director of Social Services to the Social Services Committee* (Liverpool: Liverpool City Council, 1980), p. II-3, LRO 362.7 CHI. See also *City in Transition*, p. 24
[64] H. Parker, 'The Joys of Joyriding', *New Society*, 3rd January 1974
[65] D. Pullen, 'Community Involvement' in C. Ward (ed.), *Vandalism* (London: Architectural Press, 1973), p. 269. See also *Community Action*, vol. 6, January-February 1973, p. 4

backyard.' Instead, Parker found that it became 'standard practice for little Tommy to disappear 'out' for most of his free time.'[66]

Consequently, a combination of poor housing conditions, inadequate play facilities and a dearth of planned open space meant that many inner city children were left to entertain themselves. With few options, the street and the variety of interstitial spaces that accompanied renewal and decline became a vital cultural space for local children and youth to exploit. Poignantly, Parker inversed assumed notions of poverty; in spite of the multiple deprivations they faced, inner city children, he found, were far more likely to have 'unrestricted and exploratory childhoods' than 'their garden-bound, supervised, middle-class contemporaries.'[67] The child, unbound and autonomous, would therefore become a central figure in the public life of the inner city.

[66] Parker, *View from the Boys*, p. 40. See also *Scottie Press*, Issue 4, May 1971', which complained of 'children being turned out day and night and left to roam the streets like wild dogs.' Paul Harrison found a remarkably similar situation in Hackney a few years later. See P. Harrison, *Inside The Inner City: Life Under the Cutting Edge* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), pp. 306-315
[67] *Ibid*, pp. 40-41

Section II – "Children's Places" in Liverpool

In 1971, Liverpool Corporation published a pamphlet stating that 'residents and visitors alike will be disturbed to see so many acres of rubble-strewn wasteland in the inner areas of the city.'[68] For local children however, the abundance of waste ground was a far from disturbing sight, especially given the abject failure of planners, architects and the council to provide adequate resources for play and leisure. Instead, the rubble-strewn wasteland – a porous and unregulated space away from the supervision of school, home and the police – was to act as a cultural hub for inner city youth, a key site of sociality and performance. In doing so, children demonstrated considerable agency in adopting and appropriating the remaining bombsites, emerging bits of waste ground, derelict property and the communal spaces of modernist housing developments, ensuring that play continued in public and semi-public spaces regardless of sporadic provision.

These processes were intimately tied to the surrounding environment. In spite of what may have first appeared as an arid and barren landscape, the increasing amounts of interstitial space proved a productive setting for play. For example, despite growing urban decay and a rapidly changing landscape, Iona and Peter Opie's nationwide study of outdoor games found rich childhood cultures hiding in the interstices of postwar neighbourhoods, knowing 'no town or city where street games do not flourish.'[69] Unlike planned playgrounds and parks, they could be shaped and manipulated and, consequently, local youths staked out a distinctive sense of place and territory within a variety of inner city spaces. The children interviewed by Bates on the steps of Great George's had attacked the community centre because they felt it had undermined *their* ownership of a once derelict space. The freedom with which children used the inner city was therefore a source of considerable opportunity as well as a point of transgression and a cause for concern, as practices of territorialisation put youths in competition with both each other and the local adult population. The former fuelled gang activity, whereas the latter led to the ambiguous charge of

[68] *Liverpool Challenge*, March 1971 (Liverpool: Liverpool Corporation Planning Department, March 1971)
[69] I. Opie and P. Opie, *Children's Games in Street and Playground* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. vi

delinquency. Section III deals with "delinquent" activities, whereas this section focuses on the spaces of "play".

Just as the Opies suggested that 'the bombing of London was a blessing to the youthful generations that followed', so too was the case in Liverpool.[70] Leftover bombsites, or "the 'oller" as it was known colloquially, had been a noticeable feature in the city since the Luftwaffe's bombing raids of 1941 and many continued to litter the landscape as Liverpool struggled to muster the initial resources required to rebuild. Anne Taylor and Bob Edwards, growing up in Vauxhall in the early 1960s, described how the space of the bombsite was incorporated into everyday routines of play:

> All the houses in our street had gone bar three of them. Our playgrounds were the old bombsites. The leftover house bricks and slates were like a Lego set. They were our toys.
>
> I was brought up playing on the rubble and bricks. On Athol Street there was a wall of what must have once been a house – a good twenty-five feet, just standing there with no support. We'd all climb through the ground-floor windows. I don't know how it never fell down.[71]

As the 1960s progressed, council-led slum clearance programmes joined bombsites, long a central feature of play, as interstitial spaces in the urban form. For local youth, self-inflicted planning blight proved as productive a space as the ruins of war. Overzealous and running years in advance of tentative redevelopment projects, by 1972 renewal schemes had inadvertently added an extra three hundred acres of waste ground to the inner city.[72] If these spaces represented cracks in the city, then Liverpool was thoroughly ruptured, with a 1975 report estimating the total amount of waste ground at an astonishing 1,400 acres.[73] Although clearance and dispersal programmes scattered childhood kinship networks on the one hand, it provided vast open play spaces for those left behind on the other. David Williams, forced from Everton to

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[70] *Ibid*, p. 15
[71] Interview with Anne Taylor, 21/07/2015, p. 1; Interview with Bob Edwards, 15/08/2015, p. 3
[72] Stones, 'Stop Slum Clearance – Now', p. 107
[73] Booker, 'Urban Rides – 2'

Croxteth, and Maria O'Rourke, able to stay in the Everton area, remembered both the challenges posed by slum clearance as well as the opportunities that it facilitated:

> I used to go back to where I lived to see me mates and spend the day down there…When they cleared the houses, what they left became the football pitch. Everything was done on the 'oller. It was our playground.
>
> I remember saying to my mum, "I've got no one to play with. All me mates are gone." It was depressing, even for a kid…but when the houses got pulled down on Langsdale Street it was all tarmacked over. The lads would play football on it and the girls would go down and watch them.[74]

The children's use of these spaces was even prominent enough to come to the attention of various concerned authorities. The IAS team reported with some frustration that their attempts to turn unsightly waste ground into green space had been ruined due to the fact that the grass 'had not grown strongly enough to overcome the wear and tear of children playing.'[75] Similar issues had been encountered a decade previously by city planners attempting to grass over waste ground surrounding St Andrew's Gardens. The aim was to provide facilities for the use of the local community, yet the Planning Officer complained – with no apparent sense of irony – that 'grassed areas only survive when protected by railings.'[76]

Slum clearance schemes, subsequent economic hardship and depopulation also added significant amounts of derelict property to the inner city, as witnessed in Image 4.5. Areas designated as slum clearance zones thus had four years in which to be emptied out, a policy that effectively created a series of twilight zones. As the fabric of the city increasingly unravelled, abandoned and unkempt places became another resource for children. Alan Leather and Antony Matthews, two architects conducting a study into

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[74] Interview with David Williams, 10/09/2015, pp. 2-3; Interview with Maria O'Rourke, 11/09/2015, pp. 3-10
[75] H. Wilson and L. Womersley, *Liverpool Inner Area Study: Environmental Care Project, report by the consultants* (London: Department of the Environment, 1977), p. 25
[76] Amos, *Action Plans for Vauxhall, St Andrews and Cornwallis*, p. 10

Image 4.5 – Fire in a derelict property in Cullen Close, Everton (1975)

vandalism in inner city Liverpool in the early 1970s, found that renewal programmes had led to a sharp increase in empty houses that 'prove to be dangerous but attractive play areas for children.'[77] As spaces in limbo, frozen in time before the bulldozer moved in, they offered an unsupervised play area that children could manipulate and control. If Lady Allen had described the Corporation playground as a place of utter boredom, then Maria's recollections demonstrate how the space of the derelict house offered creative methods of play and an appropriation of space that would have been difficult to replicate elsewhere:

> We'd play in the houses before they got pulled down. We'd use whatever was left behind. The bricks would make couches and Welsh dressers, we'd play doctors and use the farmhouse tables and any knives and forks they'd left behind for surgery. We'd make fires in the fire grate.[78]

For Eddie, whilst many were understandably concerned for the child's safety, the sense of opportunity and excitement that these spaces held was clear:

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[77] A. Leather and A. Matthews, 'What the Architects Can Do: A Series of Design Guidelines' in C. Ward (ed.), *Vandalism* (London: Architectural Press, 1973), p. 166
[78] Interview with Maria O'Rourke, 11/09/2015, p. 3

Image 4.6 – Boys play amidst the derelict ruins of a house (1972)

> Accidents, fires, falling off roofs – obviously, it was a dereliction of duty by the authorities. But at the same time it was that fearless sense of adventure that kids had. Maybe it was because we had no parks. We made the best of it.[79]

The practice of entering empty buildings was a common one, and scenes of this nature took centre stage in Nick Broomfield's 1971 documentary *Who Cares*, which showed the children of a half-demolished Abercromby at home amongst the rubble and dereliction of poorly executed slum clearance operations.[80]

[79] Interview with Eddie Cotton, 27/07/2015, p. 29
[80] N. Broomfield, *Who Cares*, 1971. See also *Guardian*, 22nd March 1971

Moreover, these scenes could be found in inner city districts across Britain. In 1969, the Opies stumbled across groups of girls playing "house" in Manchester's university sector, whereas Image 4.6, taken from Leela Berg's *Look at Kids*, shows a group of boys playing among the ruins of a house.[81] In a nod to the ubiquity of these practices, the location remains unnamed.

As deindustrialisation wore on through the 1970s, youth found refuge from their boredom playing amongst industrial and commercial as well as residential ruins, as Images 4.7 and 4.8 attest. In 1971, for example, the Liverpool and Bootle Police Authority, in response to complaints of vandalism from a timber merchant in Bootle, 'pointed out to Mr Pedlingham the derelict appearance of the premises, which tended to tempt children of an adventurous nature.'[82] Furthermore, the dispersal of population led to the closure of many local shops and, in turn, abandoned commercial premises became sources of interest for youth, as in Image 4.9. Taken outside of a disused shop in Everton, John explained how this shot came about:

> He's got a little bar sticking out between his legs and he looks a bit shy about me taking his picture…he was using that pole to try and dislodge the corrugated blind and get in. You wonder who belted him to give him a big black eye like that.[83]

A decade previously, Leather and Matthews captured a similar scene (Image 4.10) in Cantril Farm, in which youths had climbed onto the roof of a shopping terrace. In a response that would become increasingly common as the decade wore on, and will be covered in more detail in Section III, the pair proposed alterations to the material landscape of the inner city in order to restrict youth activities. They advised against using translucent sheet-roofing in communal and commercial areas given that they were 'easily damaged by missiles but also by children playing on them.'[84]

Nor did these spaces – residential, commercial or industrial – prove particularly challenging to access. Local authorities were under no legal duty

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[81] Opie and Opie, *Children's Games*, p. 332
[82] *Reports of the Liverpool and Bootle Police Authority, 8th June 1971*, LRO M352 MIN/2/27/3
[83] Interview with John Stoddart, 16/09/2015, p. 5
[84] Leather and Matthews, 'What the Architects Can Do', p. 131

Image 4.7 – Boys play on the Leeds and Liverpool Canal near to the abandoned Tate and Lyle factory in Vauxhall (1982)

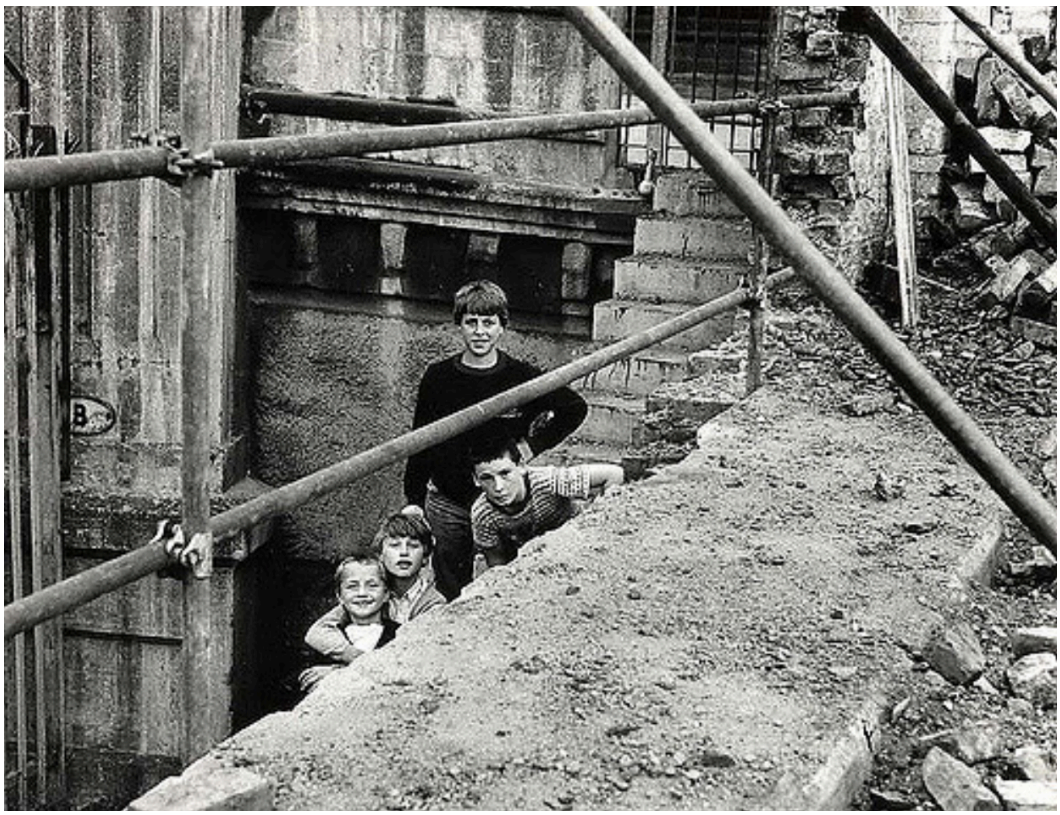

Image 4.8 – Four boys play in the abandoned Tate and Lyle factory in Vauxhall (1982)

Image 4.9 – Boy attempting to enter a disused shop in Everton (1982)

Image 4.10 – Youths play on the translucent roof of a shopping centre in Cantril Farm (1973)

to secure derelict property and many were only crudely boarded up, if at all, driving considerable concerns for the child's safety. In 1972 for example, *Community Action* reported on the nationwide problem of 'children getting into gutted and badly boarded up properties and getting hurt.'[85] In reference to Liverpool, the IAS team commented upon the prevalence of children playing "house", stressing that they were 'creating a danger for themselves due to the unsafe buildings and to the neighbours due to risk of fire.'[86] Dave Sinclair, growing up in Walton in the mid-1970s, could well have been amongst the children of Wilson and Womersley's concern:

> We'd play in derelict houses. We used to go into them, set fire to them and then we'd cross the road and watch the firemen come and put it out.[87]

One of the most significant effects of such an abundance of empty space and derelict property was the sheer amount of waste material available for local children to incorporate into their activities. The most obvious effect was the presence of bonfires, which were a year-round occurrence, though Bonfire Night itself was a significant event in the calendars of many local children; something noticed as early as the mid-1950s by Mays whilst attempting to establish the ill-fated Rathbone Street playground. Mays found that children collected 'tremendous piles of fuel…including old sofas and lounge suites' and, perhaps in an attempt to assuage them from pilfering raw materials, 'cut offs generously donated by a large firm of contractors.'[88] As the postwar period ensued, the practice of amassing raw materials for fires continued and was most obviously witnessed in the interwar tenements, where bonfires would be constructed within the central curtilage. Gerard and Bobby, both of Gerard Gardens, recalled that:

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[85] *Community Action*, vol.5, November-December 1972, p. 17
[86] Wilson and Womersley, *Liverpool Inner Area Study: Environmental Care Project*, p. 32
[87] Interview with Dave Sinclair, 12/04/2016, p. 8
[88] Mays, *Adventure in Play*, p. 12

Image 4.11 – A bonfire constructed and lit by children in Myrtle Gardens, Toxteth (1979)

> Bonfire Night started weeks beforehand as we raided bombdies to provide wooden doors and cupboards so that we could have the biggest and best bonfire in the area.
>
> It was a special occasion. For us, it started in September. There were a lot of derelict buildings around us, so wood was plentiful. We used to rob the trolleys from Lime Street, pack them out with wood and take it up to our stash.[89]

The scale of their constructions was impressive. Visiting the city in the late 1970s, James McClure was taken aback by the 'orange faces of kids of every hue, little pyromaniacs, dancing around an enormous bonfire beside a warehouse' in the city's Ropewalks district.[90] Speaking of Caryl Gardens in 1974, the *Guardian* commented on how 'rents always went up a penny' on 6th November because of the damage caused.[91] Image 4.11, taken in Myrtle Gardens in 1979,

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[89] Memories of Gerard Gardens <http://www.bbc.co.uk/liverpool/content/articles/2007/02/22/gerard_gardens_feature.shtml > [accessed 30/08/2016]; Interview with Bobby Parry, 15/07/2015, p. 3. See also Interview with Paul Sudbury, 05/09/2015, pp. 10-11

[90] McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 130

[91] *Guardian*, 8th July 1974

demonstrates both the bonfire's size and the communal aspect of its construction and lighting. Enlisting large numbers of children, competition over their scale drove territorial squabbles between tenements as festivities focused long-established rivalries between youths in different blocks. Pilfering the stash of a neighbouring tenement was not uncommon, as Paul, from Gerard Gardens, explained:

> The turf wars started a couple of days before Bonfire Night. Kids from the Four Squares and Fontenoy Gardens would come down and nick your wood. The whole area was on an incline, so it was easier for us to rob the Four Squares and easier for the Fonny to rob us.[92]

As well as carving out entertainment amidst the destruction of slum clearance, the auxiliary spaces of urban renewal presented imaginative children with a wealth of possibilities. This was always the intention of city planners, although Amos's confident predictions of playgrounds and gymnasia under motorway flyovers were unsurprisingly never achieved. Instead, the many subways and underpasses designed to segregate pedestrians (and the vulnerable child in particular) from the traffic that criss-crossed what had been completed of the inner motorway became an unlikely venue for play. Paul remembered that:

> We'd play football in the subways. You got this amplified sound, which was fun. It was shelter as well. When we were growing up any chance of getting out of the rain was ideal.[93]

Gerard similarly recalled the childhood games that focused around the Hunter Street subway, which played host to a rudimentary game of squash involving the banking of the subway and a football. The aim was to keep the ball on the slope and points were lost for the individual who failed to do this. Crucially, the children's sense of ownership over the space is highlighted when, some four decades later on *Inacityliving*, a comment light-heartedly quipped how 'it was

[92] Interview with Paul Sudbury, 05/09/2015, pp. 10-11
[93] *Ibid*, p. 13. See also G. Fagan, *Liverpool: In A City Living* (Birkenhead: Countryvise, 2004), p. 6

actually quite annoying when we had to stop and let people through, I mean, they weren't meant for people, were they?'[94]

Similar modernist spaces, such as the high-rise, further provided unintended theatres for play. Viewed as unsuitable environments for children, many parents agonised over their child's safety and, as already explained, few, if any, working social amenities were provided. In spite of such comprehensive failures in leisure provision, children commonly appropriated many of the blocks' communal spaces and service areas. In 1978, Ward stated 'that high density living in apartment blocks has not killed off the ancient ploys of childhood, but they have been *adapted by children to the new conditions of living.*'[95] In the early 1970s, Leather and Matthews commented on how 'service areas will often be taken as mere extensions of play areas, especially if unsupervised' and, with few physical restrictions, children were free to explore landings, stairwells, lifts and the roof at their leisure, as witnessed in Image 4.12.[96] In Everton's Piggeries, these practices were captured by Paul Trevor's compelling photography, presented in Image 4.13. Eddie, pictured in Image 4.14 alongside his family on the thirteenth-floor landing of Canterbury Heights, recalled how children adapted to the modernist spaces around them:

> The kids used to play on the landings all the time. My younger brothers used to go up to the very top of the building, through a lift shaft. They'd play on the roof, with a small ledge between here and eternity. There were some dangerous kids in there that'd walk right across the ledge. Me mam has since said, "Fucking hell, if I would have known about that back then I would have collapsed!"[97]

Image 4.15, a later shot from Stephen Shakeshaft, demonstrates how these spaces continued to be used by youth even as the blocks fell empty and derelict.

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[94] Wall post on Liverpool Inacityliving regarding subways and underpasses <https://www.facebook.com/groups/245881808818818/permalink/1301254329948222/> [accessed 31/08/2016]
[95] Italics added by author. Ward, *The Child in the City*, p. 101
[96] Leather and Matthews, 'What the Architects Can Do', p. 124
[97] Interview with Eddie Cotton, 27/07/2015, p. 8. See also Online Interview with Lynn Ventre, 02/09/2015

Image 4.12 – Children playing on the landings of Haigh Heights in Everton (1975)

Image 4.13 – Children play outside Crosbie Heights in Everton (1975)

Image 4.14 – The Cotton family peering over the landing of Canterbury Heights in Everton (c.1967)

Image 4.15 – Children looking out onto the derelict Piggeries in Everton (1977)

The children scan out across the landing, viewing the graffiti tags of nicknames sprawled across the edges of the roof by their peers.

Play in the interwar walk-up tenements differed somewhat from the modernist tower blocks as the central square continued as a space of informal, though often supervised, activity. Mays had noticed the use of the city's squares for play during the mid-1950s when commenting that the regulation forbidding ball games in the blocks was 'more honoured in the breach than in observance.'[98] By 1967, the council tacitly recognised as much when it advised against investing in new city centre play spaces because 'sufficient land is available within the curtilage of the larger blocks.'[99] Indeed, the games found in the central squares arguably became more important as decreasing levels of council maintenance meant that many playgrounds fell into disrepair. If the council technically outlawed ball games, then they appear to have been tolerated on a de facto basis by the community. Frank, growing up in Gerard Gardens in the 1960s, recalled:

> We always played in the square. It was our space for games. The younger kids would have their skipping ropes out. We'd play cricket or tennis in the summer. Football was all year round. We used to play rounders with the girls.[100]

This remained the case well into the 1970s, even as the blocks began to deteriorate. Image 4.16, for example, shows a game of football in the central curtilage of Myrtle Gardens. Likewise, Gerard described the square as 'a hive of activity…the swerving bikes, whizzing footballs, swinging cricket bats and verbal banter – a crescendo of noise somehow accentuated by the high, long landings which surrounded us.'[101] Bobby, also of Gerard Gardens, remembered similar activities, demonstrating the child's imaginative reinterpretation of the landscape:

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[98] Mays, *Growing Up in the City*, p. 39
[99] Amos, *Action Plans for Vauxhall, St Andrews and Cornwallis*, p. 9
[100] Interview with Frank Carlyle, 14/08/2015, p. 2
[101] G. Fagan, *Liverpool: In A City Living 3 – The Tenements* (Birkenhead: Countryvise, 2006), pp. 5-15

Image 4.16 – A game of football in the courtyard of Myrtle Gardens, Toxteth (1977)

> Every game that you could think of was played in that square. It was our football pitch. In about 1976 or 1977 they put floodlights on the top of the tenements – it was like Wembley.[102]

In many cases, the block's semi-circular nature and inward-facing outdoor landings meant that they were a social space for adults too, meaning that games could be supervised in a way not possible in the anonymous spaces of renewal. Paul, for example, remembered the unorthodox manner this could sometimes take:

> There was a fella who used to live next door to us who'd come in after being on the ale. We'd all be playing footie. He'd be leaning on the landing shouting instructions out to the kids! "Pass it to him! Ger' it out wide!"[103]

That local youth proved so adept at transforming *terra nullius* into productive social and cultural space further layers understandings of how urban renewal and decline were experienced. The fundamentally different perceptions that children held towards the urban environment, and the

[102] Interview with Bobby Parry, 15/07/2015, p. 3
[103] Interview with Paul Sudbury, 05/09/2015, p. 6. See also Interview with Frank Carlyle, 14/08/2015, p. 4

multiplicity of activities that derived from this, allows for a revision of some of the most basic assumptions regarding the postwar city. Crucially, it demonstrates the gulf in perspective between the adult and the child's city. In short, children's play was a common sight among the landscape of urban decline as youth appropriated and claimed ownership over marginal and interstitial city spaces. The next section investigates how these cultures of play interacted with the space of urban decline to, firstly, encourage more disorderly and dangerous forms of youth activity and, secondly, trigger panic in adult authorities. If relatively innocent play within the derelict houses and waste ground generated concern for the child's safety, then activities like vandalism, joyriding and gang squabbles coalesced with and nourished the pervasive figure of the juvenile delinquent; a key rhetorical and metonymic device in wider constructions of the "inner city crisis".

Section III – The Juvenile Delinquent and Conceptions of Inner City Crisis

Delinquency in Liverpool

The same liminal spaces of urban renewal that provided children with the opportunity for unstructured and creative play further allowed youth to engage in more illicit activities. As a result, youth delinquency was conflated with the wider failures of Liverpool's urban renewal programmes and its growing problems of deindustrialisation and urban decline. Just as the unregulated space of the stadium was perceived to encourage hooligan activity, the presence of adolescents within certain inner city spaces fuelled contemporary anxieties regarding youth, social breakdown and the broader sense of crisis and social disintegration that characterised British cities; a process by which youth were simultaneously painted as both the cause and the victims. The result was twofold. Firstly, a moral panic developed around the ideological vehicle of the "juvenile delinquent" and, secondly, tangible changes were made to inner city spaces as a result. This section investigates vandalism, violence and joyriding and their alleged connections to the derelict space of the inner city, suggesting that delinquent activities were indeed nurtured by the material form of the inner city, but that in many cases delinquency represented a conflict between the child and the adult regarding the normative use of space. Consequently, the boundaries between play and deviancy became blurred. In doing so, it will propose that a metonymic relationship between the juvenile delinquent and the inner city was established, in which the disorderly nature of one became rhetorically indistinguishable from the other. As a final point, it will explore how an architecture of 'vandal-proofing' developed in response to the perceived epidemic of delinquency and how Liverpool, exemplary in urban decline *and* youth crime, was often placed at the forefront of these discussions and experiments.

Delinquency had been in the minds of Liverpool's authorities long before urban renewal. In 1949 the city pioneered the Juvenile Liaison Scheme aimed at halting the delinquent's path into criminality, whereas Mays' allusion to the Dionysian devils that made short work of his playground predated the city's

ambitious attempts at redevelopment. However, with growing acknowledgement of urban decline came a renewed focus on petty juvenile crimes such as vandalism. The scale of the problem was dramatically revealed in 1969 when the city's Policy and Finance Committee ordered a rough estimate of vandalism's total annual cost to the Corporation. The figure, £870,000, was quickly rounded up by the press and widely publicised as "the £1,000,000 problem."[104] A year later, 'scared and perturbed by the growth in vandalism', the council set up the Vandalism Steering Group, which distributed £25,000 annually to preventative measures.[105] By 1975 it was reported that Liverpool Housing Department's maintenance section employed fourteen men solely for the purpose of replacing broken windows.[106] In many regards, the panicked tone of 1985's "Crisis Conference on Violence and Vandalism" – briefly alluded to in Chapter Two – represented a city at breaking point on the issue, and in no doubt as to who the culprit was. It described the 'growing fear, concern and frustration…because of the violence, disruptive behaviour and vandalism committed by in particular, younger members of the public.'[107] By that point, the £1,000,000 problem had grown to £3,500,000.[108] Its recommendations – the establishment of an anti-vandal patrol and twenty-four hour watchmen for the city's derelict buildings – were profoundly unrealistic in a local authority reeling from falling tax revenues and central government funding cuts, but nonetheless serve to illustrate the scale and heightened levels of unrest that surrounded the problem.

The conference's emphasis on derelict buildings was far from coincidental. Just as Sleight's conclusions into how the late-Victorian larrikin's subcultural performance was reinforced by Melbourne's interstitial urban form, Liverpool's desolate architecture of failing urban renewal was likewise seen to encourage delinquent behaviour.[109] The modernist spaces, which two decades

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[104] Pullen, 'Community Involvement', p. 259
[105] Wilson and Womersley, *Liverpool Inner Area Study: Inner Area Play*, p. 1; J. Morgan, 'Liverpool: Active Police Involvement with the Community', *Police Journal*, 46.1 (1973), p. 67
[106] *Crisis Conference on Violence and Vandalism*
[107] *Ibid*
[108] *Ibid*
[109] Sleight, 'Interstitial Acts', p. 232. See also Sleight, *Young People and the Shaping of Public Space in Melbourne, 1870-1914*

previously had appeared as a panacea to the social ills of the inner city, were instead cast as a breeding ground for youth criminality. For example, a 1980 report into children's social services linked delinquency directly to the architectural failings of the inner city as 'multi-storey tower blocks and terraces with ill-lit, narrow alleys to the rear make vandalism, petty crime, breaking and entering, mugging, etc., easier to undertake, *especially by young persons and children*.[110] Precisely why youth were particularly advantaged was never elaborated upon. The report instead framed the increase in juvenile crime as a natural outcome of the failed environment, merely as common sense. The following paragraphs explore these assumed links further, proposing that whilst delinquency may have been viewed as an innate and natural response to the urban environment, the particular material formations of urban decline did in fact foster certain forms of delinquency.

In much the same way as disorderly spectators sought out liminal urban spaces such as Stanley Park so as to evade the watchful eye of authorities, the lack of adult surveillance afforded by the landscape of urban decline was a determining factor in delinquency. Unlike the supervised play spaces of terraced streets (and, to a lesser extent, interwar tenements), tower blocks and housing estates and their excess of communal spaces, alongside derelict property, afforded a sense of privacy to engage in activities deemed unsafe or antisocial without fear of interruption. The result was that the youth's ephemeral presence in morally ambiguous inner city spaces was difficult to control and regulate. Steve, a local police officer during the late 1970s, suggested that this was a landscape in which youth held the upper hand:

> They were playgrounds, free of adult supervision. If there was any problem, they could disappear in the blink of an eye. There were lifts, stairs and empty flats. There were always places to hide.[111]

Empty flats, often a magnet for vandals, could also act as a rendezvous for sexual encounters that provided fleeting moments of privacy otherwise

[110] Italics added by author. Liverpool Social Services Department, *Children in Need*, p. II-3
[111] Interview with Steve Melia, 09/09/2015, p. 19

impossible for youth from large families in small, overcrowded flats. For example, Maria explains how:

> People used to go in the empty flats once they were wrecked and kiss with your boyfriend! They were called the lockers, everyone went in there.[112]

Likewise, lifts were commonly used for disruptive activities. Ward's North London studies, for example, spoke of youth 'travelling on the roof of the lift car, both imperilling their own lives and terrorising the occupants of the lift below their feet.'[113] In Liverpool, the lives of several youngsters were to be claimed by such high-risk play.[114] Bernie, a police officer during the 1970s, experienced first-hand the tragic consequences:

> We had responsibility for Cantril Farm. Kids used to fuck about in the lifts. One lad was killed when they jammed the lift between floors and he'd decided to climb out onto the roof.[115]

That the material formations of renewal were permitting vandalism appeared to be neatly summarised by the Radcliffe Estate in Everton. Built in the mid-1970s, in many cases to rehouse residents of the nearby Piggeries, and jammed in between Shaw Street and Everton Road, it provided Liverpool with its clearest example of how a lack of incidental surveillance could encourage delinquent activity. The estate's confusing design of internal walkways, alleys and courtyards was intended to foster communal spirit by replicating the style of a Cornish fishing village. Instead, it proved a warren of vandalism and crime. Delivery vehicles, ambulances, bin lorries, fire engines and even tenants' own cars struggled to penetrate the labyrinth. Proverbially, the same applied to police officers. Its maze of dark passages and complicated walkways, far from a cosy and homely community, instead became a notorious rat run or, as one interviewee described, 'a mugger's paradise.'[116] By 1985, the *Guardian*

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[112] Interview with Maria O'Rourke, 11/09/2015, p. 10
[113] Ward, *The Child in the City*, p. 101
[114] See *Guardian*, 19th June 1975; *Guardian*, 14th January 1976
[115] Interview with Bernie Swift, 27/05/2016, p. 25. See also Interview with Steve Melia, 09/09/2015, p. 19
[116] Interview with Paul Dickenson, 21/04/2016, p. 7

Image 4.17 – A child runs past the Radcliffe Estate in Everton (early 1980s)

suggested that the estate had 'descended into a shanty town', its unusual design facilitating particular types of delinquency. Overhanging bedrooms, for example, were allowing 'gangs of bored youths to keep terrorised families awake at night by thumping on walkway ceilings.'[117] Image 4.17 conveys the point; a peripheral blur streaming past just out of centre, the fleeting youth appears perfectly camouflaged against the dereliction of the surrounding estate.

If youth found opportunities for delinquency in the modernist spaces of urban redevelopment, then the failure to clear derelict buildings and incidental open space from stalled renewal programmes further provided both the resources and the stage for misbehaviour. As Paul Corrigan's 1979 study of Sunderland street-corner culture demonstrated, what most adults apprehensively viewed as the purposeless activity of 'doing nothing' was in fact a central aspect of working-class youth experience, full of incident, intensity and

[117] *Guardian*, 2nd December 1985

creativity.[118] Feelings of boredom, especially prevalent in areas deficient in leisure provision, were commonly channelled into rebellious activity, and the waste ground and cleared sites of the inner city provided a suitable venue for bravado and brinksmanship. That Housing's maintenance department was constantly replacing smashed windows came as no surprise to Parker, for whom 'the easy-to-enter empty buildings, warehouses and shops all provide escape-hatches from boredom and a lack of excitement', or Leather and Matthews, who commented on how waste material from demolition sites provided youth with 'a ready supply of missiles.'[119] Tellingly, shopkeepers on Everton's Soho Street complained that they were unable to get their premises insured for damages, 'irrespective of protection, such as the fitting of wire guards.'[120]

Vandalism went hand-in-hand with violence as loose bricks and stones were aimed at fellow youth as well as the few intact windows that remained. Gangs were common in inner city Liverpool and as the adult world conceded its claim to these spaces, youth gangs asserted their own, sparking regular clashes over possession of waste ground.[121] What appeared to the adult eye as vast and ubiquitous expanses of empty space were in fact a territorialised series of youth micro-geographies, a point briefly hinted at in the allocation of play provision. Parker succinctly summarised the point. 'It is not often', he suggested, 'that the adolescent thinks of the inner city as a homogenous unit' (although, interestingly, he forwarded the football terrace as a crucial exception). Instead, each area held 'stereotype ideas' about surrounding neighbourhoods, meaning that the inner city's gangs rarely mixed well. 'For The Boys', Parker suggested, ''Granny' is a neighbourhood where the Niggers live, where prostitutes operate, where you'll likely get 'rolled' for money. 'Everomer' is where Protestants live, where kids take and drive away cars, where flats are always getting broken

[118] P. Corrigan, 'Doing Nothing' in S. Hall and T. Jefferson (eds), *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Postwar Britain* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 84-88; P. Corrigan, *Schooling the Smash Street Kids* (London: Macmillan, 1979)
[119] Parker, *View from the Boys*, p. 38; Leather and Matthews, 'What the Architects Can Do', p. 153. See also Pullen, 'Community Involvement', p. 271, Stones, 'Stop Slum Clearance – Now', p. 108; Wilson and Womersley, *Liverpool Inner Area Study: Environmental Care Project*, p. 25
[120] *Guardian*, 7th August 1971
[121] Pullen, 'Community Involvement', p. 269; *Guardian*, 13th August 1972

into.'[122] Youth interfaces developed across the inner city as a result. Pullen, for example, found 'considerable friction and delinquency' in Soho Street, perhaps explaining why shop owners struggled to get insured.[123] Indeed, these practices were well remembered by interviewees from the Soho Street area, where dense clusters of walk-up tenements and high-rises compressed and amplified gang rivalries. The descriptions of Eddie, of Canterbury Heights, and Bobby, of Gerard Gardens, call to mind Berg's observations on the life of inner city children, and in particular on the 'brick-littered dumps where children play…and on occasion casually, amiably and tentatively toss bricks at each other':

> We'd have raids against SFX on Langsdale Street. All the bricks would be lined up to throw. There was a big derelict space between us, about two hundred yards wide. That was no man's land. Normally it was just lobbing stones. It was never really fisticuffs. We didn't get that close to each other.
>
> There was a lot of wasteland about in those days and it was littered with bricks. We'd meet there and knock fuck out of each other, brick each other. It was never hatred, it just because that was our turf.[124]

On occasion, local youths would turn their attentions towards the adults who encroached on their domain and threatened to disrupt their activities. Satirically chronicling the often-delinquent annexation of these interstitial spaces, local fanzine *The End* alluded to another prominent youth practice:

> Find a nice area which has been made for the kids. You know one of them Urban Redevelopment Areas…A few hundred youths wouldn't go amiss either. Then let them take the place apart…yeah, let them re-arrange the area, release their inner-energies, do their own bit of re-developing…Get the police to drive around real fast in protected

[122] The pseudonyms refer to Granby/Toxteth and Everton. Parker, *View from the Boys*, p. 31
[123] Pullen, 'Community Involvement', p. 269
[124] L. Berg, *Look at Kids* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 49; Interview with Eddie Cotton, 27/07/2015, pp. 9-10; Interview with Bobby Parry, 15/07/2015, p. 12

> vehicles…the youths have got to put them out of action. They'll build barricades and throw missiles at meaties.[125]

Alongside its mockery of the language of urban planners and local government, the article's reference to "meaties" – slang for police vans – is significant. Excess waste material was not merely turned on derelict property or opposing groups of youths. Jon, a policeman during the early 1980s, recalled the prevalence of baiting the emergency services:

> The kids would start getting on to wasteland, collecting all the stuff, the pallets and whatever, and starting fires. They quickly got out of control and they'd pelt the fire service when they turned up.[126]

Indeed, the more criminal offshoot of the communal bonfire described above was that, year after year, the press reported on fire crews fending off attacks and being driven away when attempting to put out fires.[127] Alan McDonald, a fireman during the 1970s and 1980s, commented that:

> The fire engine would come under attack all the time. You had to leave a man watching the standpipe at all times otherwise they'd pinch it and then for weeks they'd be going around Toxteth turning hydrants on.[128]

The baiting of emergency services provided a stark illustration of social breakdown in the inner city. The Crisis Conference, for example, flagged this practice up as particularly worrying, suggesting that 'there was a time when the fire brigade was considered sacrosanct. Increasingly on Merseyside, the people that help are being attacked, not just by chance, but are being lured so that they can be attacked.'[129] Crucially, the suggestion that the fire brigade was being "lured" illustrates the perceived balance of power across the inner city and why the baiting of the emergency services evoked such unease. Local adults appeared to have lost the ability to adequately regulate the urban fabric. Local youth, on the other hand, had mastered its intricacies, were able to act without regard for others and, crucially, get away with it.

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[125] *The End*, Issue 8, October 1982
[126] Interview with Jon Ward, 05/05/2016, p. 14
[127] *Guardian*, 6th November 1970; *Guardian*, 6th November 1974; *Guardian*, 6th November 1972
[128] Interview with Alan McDonald, 10/08/2015, pp. 28-29
[129] *Crisis Conference on Violence and Vandalism*

Many of the fears and anxieties surrounding inner city delinquency coalesced around the phenomenon of joyriding. First noted in the late 1960s, by the mid-1970s it constituted a serious problem for city authorities. More specifically, joyriding was seen almost solely as a youth problem and several parties noted, with some amazement, at how young the offenders were. For example, Merseyside Police reported in 1976 that a total of 21,258 vehicles had been stolen and, while the prevalence of joyriding within these figures can only be estimated, the report went on to suggest that 'in many instances the culprits have been children under the age of thirteen.'[130] More anecdotally, Steve, a police officer during the late 1970s, remembered that:

> In those days there was a group of young men, only fourteen or fifteen, who'd come into Liverpool and pinch five or six cars a day. They'd drive them to destruction around Granby Street, crash them up and set them on fire.[131]

Commentators, academics and journalists lined up alongside the police to express their disbelief. The *Observer's* Alan Moad, on visiting Kirkby in 1979, spoke of a brand new Granada wrapped around a lamppost 'by a boy no more than 12 years old, who calmly stepped from the wreck and ran off.'[132] Likewise, shadowing Merseyside's A-Division, McClure heard endless stories of joyriders as young as eight and, on one occasion, of 'two kids who took a huge wagon, a lorry. One stood on the driver's seat and his mate sat on the floor, workin' the pedals – y'know, sort of "captain to engine room" type of thing!'[133] As a result, stolen and abandoned cars became a common sight across the inner city, the sheer number of burnt-out wrecks testimony to the size of Liverpool's problem.

Theft of cars for monetary gain, for use in other crimes or taking without consent were problems endemic to the city centre and inner city, but joyriding, Parker was keen to stress, formed a distinct adolescent subculture within the wider category of car crime. Commenting in 1972, the *Guardian* claimed that

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[130] Merseyside Police Authority, *Annual Report 1976* (Liverpool: Merseyside Police Authority, 1976), p. 51
[131] Interview with Steve Melia, 09/09/2015, p. 22
[132] A. Moad, 'Self-Destruction of a New Jerusalem'; *Observer Magazine*, 11th March 1979
[133] McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 123. See also Interview with Bob Edwards, 15/08/2015, p. 16

popular explanations in the city regarding its causes 'were the environment, a serious lack of facilities, boredom and a lack of control by parents.'[134] Joyriding, then, like vandalism and violence, was perceived as a problem in part connected to the youth's mastery of the failing material environment. The Crisis Conference found that the most common practice was for 'gangs to steal cars from outside the neighbourhood, bringing them back home and put people's lives at risk by driving dangerously *within the neighbourhood*.'[135] By bringing the cars 'back home', joyriders utilised an instinctive knowledge of their neighbourhood – a medley of waste ground and a labyrinthine layout of terraced streets and housing estates – to evade and escape police attention. Their success in this endeavour was noted by Parker, who suggested that the area's 'familiar complexity will usually let them abandon the car and get away successfully.'[136] Much like those who baited the emergency services, or the disorderly football gangs who ambushed visiting supporters with such ease, joyriders' superior grasp of the environment provided the opportunity to engage without fear of reprisal. Moreover, in increasingly derelict surroundings, and in neighbourhoods where car ownership was often as low as five per cent, the car's position as a status symbol of material success contrasted significantly with the blight and dereliction that surrounded it. Parked cars were seldom the property of the neighbourhood, but of commuters from the suburbs. Youths who engaged in joyriding therefore did so in order to affirm status, with Parker even noting how selective they could be when choosing a vehicle – 'the added power of Cortina's and GT's, the boys feel, is necessary to compete with the police.'[137] As a public performance of masculinity, joyriding was therefore both facilitated and given meaning and significance by the environment in which it took place.

The second and third of the *Guardian's* points – boredom stemming from a lack of adequate leisure provision – are likewise central to explanations of joyriding. The council's aforementioned failure to provide basic outlets for local youth was seen as a root cause, with Parker suggesting that joyriding became

[134] *Guardian*, 25th March 1972
[135] Italics added by author. *Crisis Conference on Violence and Vandalism*
[136] Parker, 'The Joys of Joyriding'
[137] *Ibid*

particularly acute during the summer months, when children descended onto the street and 'when excitement is most needed to fill the time.'[138] Bereft of any other activities to keep them occupied; spurred on by a brinksmanship naturally fostered when 'doing nothing'; embedded within a setting that presented the opportunity to do so; gangs of inner city youths stole cars for the thrill of reckless driving and for want of anything better to do. Paul Trevor explained:

> Groups of teenagers would regularly hang around street corners. They weren't at work and they weren't studying, so what should they have done? They had idle hands and plenty of time. It was teenage bravado. Someone would get into a car, their mates would jump in and off they went.[139]

Parker found a similar picture. As he spoke to one group of adolescents it became clear that joyriding was seldom planned, but merely a spontaneous consequence of boredom:

> That night we took that dumper truck, remember, honest to god we had a laugh. We were only standing there when Tony says, come on, let's take it round the block…In the end there was a whole load of us on it…I only came out for ciggies.[140]

That joyriding was perceived to stem from boredom was further demonstrated by the proposed solutions. A Neighbourhood Projects Officer from Toxteth, for example, told the council that joyriding 'could be allayed by the provision of a municipal track for go-karts.'[141] A few years later, social workers in Toxteth even set up a group for young people convicted of motoring offences. The aim was to provide a 'legitimate outlet for their interests', the solution was to 'convert, maintain and race an old car.'[142] The overriding suggestion of community-based approaches such as these was that, instead of deriving from any form of psychopathic tendencies sparked by the 'concrete

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[138] *Ibid*
[139] Interview with Paul Trevor, 30/09/2016, p. 7
[140] Parker, 'The Joys of Joyriding'
[141] *Guardian*, 25th March 1972
[142] Liverpool Social Services Department, *Children in Need*, p. III-7

jungle', delinquency was merely the result of youth energies unable to be channelled into existing outlets and provision. It was, in other words, a natural extension of play.

Defining Delinquency: Metonymy and 'Vandal-Proofing' the Inner City

The pervasiveness of the vandal as a bogeyman figure and his relationship to the surrounding environment was emphasised by Colin Ward, who noted in 1973 that '*we all know* the vandal. In general terms he is someone whose activities in the environment we deplore.' The delinquent was 'a working-class male adolescent, and his act is the 'wanton', 'senseless', or 'motiveless' destruction of usually public property.'[143] Ward's allusion to the emplaced nature of the delinquent – 'in the environment' – was telling. Right-wing critics of moral and social decline linked the 'concrete jungle' to declining behavioural standards, whereas social radicals attempted to recast vandalism as a logical extension of children's play – a necessary outlet for youthful energies in an environment that held out few alternatives.[144] Some commentators were even keen to put the juvenile's petty vandalism into the full context of renewal and decline, with a 1974 promotional film made for the *Liverpool Daily Post and Echo* suggesting that such vandalism stemmed from 'a desire to replicate the apparently wanton civic destruction' of the city.[145] According to Thomson, both strands of thought presented vandalism not just as an issue of why and how society came to define its rules of acceptable behaviour and deviance, 'but also as a product of the way that children and young people perceived, understood and experienced their environment.'[146] The juvenile delinquent was therefore a spatialized concept as well as a social stereotype, uniquely at home in the inner city.

If joyriding became symbolic of social and material breakdown – a neat summary of how the space of the inner city decline combined with the failures

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[143] Italics added by author. C. Ward, 'Introduction' in C. Ward (ed.), *Vandalism* (London: Architectural Press, 1973), p. 13
[144] Thomson, *Lost Freedom*, pp. 209-210
[145] *Tomorrow's Merseysiders*, NWFA FN 7171. See also C. Ward, 'Planners as Vandals' in C. Ward (ed.), *Vandalism* (London: Architectural Press, 1973), pp. 173-183
[146] Thomson, *Lost Freedom*, p. 209

of renewal to facilitate nihilistic juvenile crime – then the subsequent fate of the cars paints a much more complex picture. Delinquent activities were often intimately connected to cultures of play and vice versa, meaning that the boundaries between the two were fluid. While authorities viewed joyriding as criminal, joyriders categorised it as entertainment or competition. Parker even held some sympathy for these sentiments, describing it as a 'popular adolescent *sport*', albeit a dangerous one in which youth 'competed' with the police.[147] Moreover, once a vehicle's potential for joyriding had been exhausted and local scrap merchants had stripped it of useful parts, it could invite the ritualistic involvement of various younger individuals and, from this point onwards, the focus shifted well and truly towards play. Mays had noticed this as early as the mid-1950s. Local children, he reported, 'invariably singled out abandoned cars for their most savage assaults, ripping off the roofs and tearing out the seating with the wildest of frenzies.' Once only a shell remained, it was 'left for the younger element to take possession of and utilise an imaginary space ship or a racer screaming round hairpin bends.'[148]

As joyriding became more prevalent, greater opportunities for these play practices were facilitated. Parker's descriptions bear striking similarities to Mays' despite the passing of two decades. He noted how over several days, children would 'smash up all the glass, rip out the seats to make sledges and jump on the roof. In between these smash-ups, really little children will explore the new toy and play their own inventive games.'[149] Image 4.18, in showing a group of children playing in the burnt-out wreck of a Volkswagen Beetle, suggests that the stolen car was a resource for children's play well into the 1980s. As a mother in Anfield during the 1970s, Pauline Lopez remembered the abandoned cars well and, in the absence of play facilities, her nostalgic response implies that many parents saw no harm in their children playing in and around what was technically stolen property:

> There was one car in particular – an old wreck and the kids were taking pieces off it. "We're fixing it! We're repairing it." They didn't see it as a

[147] Italics added by author. Parker, 'The Joys of Joyriding'
[148] Mays, *Adventure in Play*, p. 12
[149] Parker, 'The Joys of Joyriding'

Image 4.18 – Four boys play on an abandoned Volkswagen Beetle in the Vauxhall Road area (early 1980s)

> danger. They all climbed on it, they were all shouting and taking pictures. We didn't have a lot of wreckage, but when it was there, the kids enjoyed it. When the council moved that car all the kids were going mad. "Ahh, no! They're taking our car!" They thought it was theirs![150]

The "smasher-uppers", and, indeed, their parents, failed to see how such behaviour was deviant. As far as they were concerned, the car was abandoned, had no owner and was fair game. Parker's summary was brief yet succinct – 'smashing up is merely play.'[151]

How delinquency and play were defined was heavily dependent upon perspective and location and was in many regards influenced by the establishment of a metonymic relationship between youth and the particular setting of the inner city. Jacob Dickerson's study into historic representations of residents of New York's infamous Five Points has demonstrated how associations between people and place can form strong metonymic connections in which, for outsiders' understandings of the population's collective identity, a

[150] Interview with Pauline Lopez, 26/08/2015, pp. 2-3
[151] Parker, 'The Joys of Joyriding'

neighbourhood can become synonymous with the people who live there.[152] Language used in relation to the inner city therefore not only referred to it as a place, but, directly or indirectly, constructed particular images of its residents. Within such a relationship, references to the neighbourhood become rhetorically indistinguishable from references to its population and vice versa. The result was mutually constitutive; the juvenile delinquent fed into the negative image of the inner city, whereas those same negative images bolstered and strengthened the stereotype of the delinquent. In Liverpool, this was witnessed in particular through the development of 'delinquent areas', a quasi-official term used in academic study, urban planning and local decision-making to denote a neighbourhood that was perceived to have high concentrations of vandalism, theft, gang activity and school absenteeism. Naturally, as one planning document stated, inner city council estates were overrepresented in delinquent areas, accounting for thirty-six per cent of all delinquency cases and twenty-eight per cent of all supervision orders in spite of containing just nine per cent of the city's total population.[153] Or, as one social worker from Kirkby quipped, 'up here, if you aren't a vandal, *you're* the deviant.'[154]

Owen Gill's observational study of an estate in inner Liverpool in 1977 explored how certain areas became labelled as delinquent. Gill's findings implicated the council in proceedings, as decisions to rehouse 'problem' families in "Luke Street" enhanced its reputation as a tough area, the negative stereotypes from which became self-incorporated into local youth identity. Gill's conclusion was – given the area's declining external reputation was met with a higher police presence – that tenant allocation processes amplified inner city deviancy via a process of victimisation, which, in turn, led to the formation of the discursive label of delinquent.[155] That the term was able to stand for either (or both) was demonstrated by *The Sunday Times* when it debated the merits of the proposed Urban Development Corporations in the aftermath of the 1981 disturbances. The disturbances will be investigated in more detail in

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[152] J. Dickerson, 'Metonymy and Indexicality: People and Place in the Five Points', *Rhetoric Review*, 31.4 (2012), pp. 405-421
[153] *City in Transition*, p. 24
[154] Moad, 'Self-Destruction of a New Jerusalem'
[155] O. Gill, *Luke Street: Housing, Policy, Conflict and the Creation of the Delinquent Area* (London: Macmillan, 1977)

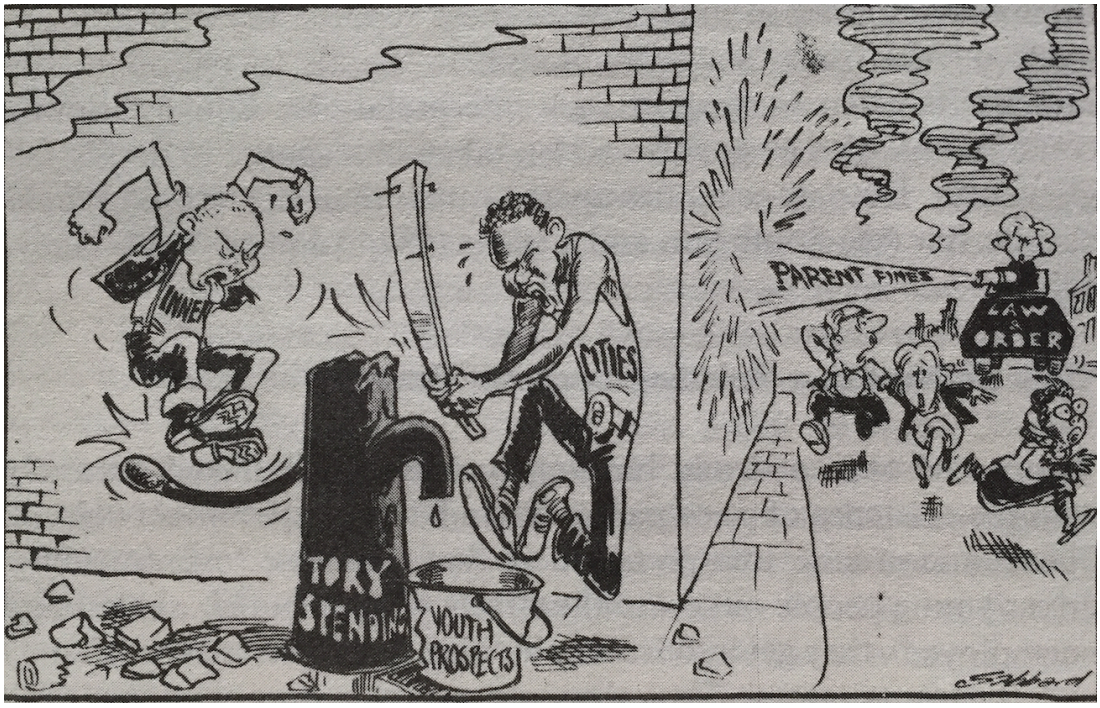

Image 4.19 – 'Inner' and 'Cities', transformed into youth vandals, wreck the material environment whilst trying to extract funds from the government (1981)

Chapter Five, however it is here relevant to note how the paper used the framework of family pathology to suggest that inner cities should be treated like the juvenile delinquents that apparently populated them: 'taken into care, brought up to national standards and only then handed back like rehabilitated children to the parent councils.'[156] The accompanying cartoon, seen in Image 4.19, in which two juvenile delinquents ('Inner' and 'Cities') desperately attempt to break open a standing pipe of government investment on a brick-littered street, completes the metonymy.

With youth activity in delinquent areas having to negotiate with such an overbearing rhetorical stereotype, the boundaries between disruptive activity and more innocent forms of play became predictably obscured. For example, in 1976, Merseyside Police commented on the difficulty of investigating allegations of vandalism as when they scrutinised the complaint, it normally proved to be 'inaccurate, exaggerated and related to incompetent management, maladministration and bad maintenance.' They commented further, and with particular reference to deprived (or delinquent) areas, suggesting that the conflation of youth and vandal was unhelpful in that:

[156] Burgess, 'News From Nowhere', p. 214

> Using "vandalism" to cover all types of juvenile misbehaviour further clouds the issue. Excessive noise and footballing in the street is now the work of "vandals" instead of the normal albeit sometimes annoying behaviour of children...particularly in areas with an established problem of community deprivation.[157]

Father Collins, the Dean of Kirkby, expressed similar views, 'admitting to a certain sympathy with the youngsters' view of Kirkby's empty homes as a vast adventure playground.'[158]

What was occurring in many cases was a much more basic conflict of interest between local adults and 'sometimes annoying' children. Even Kenneth Oxford, Chief Constable of Merseyside Police, privately admitted that 'a fair amount of vandalism is simply a form of play – particularly with younger children.'[159] Indeed, the soundscape of the 1970s inner city would be quite unusual to a modern observer, as a constant feature of residential areas would have been the cacophonous chatter, shouts and screams of children occupying the public space of the street. McClure, for example, noted how the 'shrieks and whoops of Bullring children' were a constant background noise for officers in Copperas Hill Police Station, as well as nearby locals.[160] Likewise, a resident of Scotland Road told the city's crime steering group that 'when kids go down to play in the concreted forecourts and squares they were told to take their ball elsewhere.' The problem, according to the interviewee, was that 'there was nowhere else to go except outside somebody elses [sic] window', a point of 'resentment between some neighbours and frustrated children who later became defiant.'[161] The steering group went on to interview several of these defiant children, annoyed by the lack of legitimate opportunities afforded to them by their environment. Speaking to a nine-year-old boy and ten-year-old girl on Soho Street, they were told, 'the people are always shouting at us and say

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[157] Merseyside Police Authority, *Annual Report 1976*, p. 53
[158] Moad, 'Self-Destruction of a New Jerusalem'
[159] *Official Papers: Merseyside Police Chief Constable*, LRO M920 CRA/5/26
[160] McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 94. Likewise, a good example of this can be found in several scenes of street play in the student produced 1976 documentary, *What's so Funny About Liverpool?*
[161] *We Live There: A Report from some Residents on Crime and Vandalism in the Inner City* in *Crime in the City: Report of the Steering Group,* p. 3, LRO HQ364 CRI. See also *Scottie Press*, Issue 14, April 1972. A letter from local children complained they needed a 'suitable place to go away from busy bodies windows.'

we make too much noise and playing football.' Explaining their actions as an act of resistance to adult definitions of normative use, the children told the group, 'so we do it for spite to get our own back' and, tellingly, 'because there's fuck all else to do.'[162]

While the similitude between the figure of the juvenile delinquent and actual inner city youth may be questioned, it is undoubtedly the case that the former made tangible, material changes to the city. If anxieties surrounding the inappropriate behaviour of football spectators led to the establishment of a disciplinary landscape of segregation and control within the stadium, then a similar process of fortification was applied throughout the inner city to combat delinquency through the practice of 'vandal-proofing' certain spaces. Gill's conclusions regarding the creation of delinquent areas – which stressed a complex mixture of social and environmental factors, local council decisions and policing practices – had to compete with other hypotheses that placed a greater emphasis on the architecture of renewal. Indeed, volumes like Ward's *Vandalism*, Oscar Newman's *Defensible Space* and Alice Coleman's *Utopia on Trial* exemplified such trends, and were wholeheartedly lapped up by Merseyside's Chief Constable, Kenneth Oxford. Keen to deflect attention away from increasingly controversial policing practices – to be investigated shortly – Oxford stated that vandalism was a result of 'the organisational problems imposed by re-housing and *modern architectural design*.'[163] If architecture was perceived as the root of the problem, then it was thus forwarded as part of the solution and, given the supposed links between the delinquent and the material environment, alterations to the space of the inner city should have had subsequent effects on the delinquent. On cue, Ward's *Vandalism* provided the platform for a series of architects to step forward and point out the design defects that triggered issues such as graffiti. If claims of delinquency represented a conflict between the world of the adult and the child, then 'vandal-proofing' was the evidence of an adult fightback.

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[162] *Ibid,* p. 19

[163] Ward (ed.), *Vandalism*; Newman, *Defensible Space*; A. Coleman, *Utopia on Trial: Vision and Reality in Planned Housing* (London: Shipman, 1985); *Official Papers: Merseyside Police Chief Constable* (italics added)

Liverpool, exemplary in its problems, was a case study in several of the volume's chapters. Leather and Matthews, for example, created a detailed fifty-six-page guide that stressed how better architectural designs could limit the youth delinquent. The pair catalogued a litany of petty vandalisms in Liverpool estates; including broken lighting, damaged lifts, smashed windows and glazing, trampled flowerbeds, graffitied surfaces, dislodged signs and broken piping. The study, and others like it, bordered on architectural determinism – Leather and Matthews, for example, stated that 'environments produce sociological, psychological and perhaps physical reactions within the user' – and, as a result, strove for design-based solutions.[164] Striated, rough-textured concrete could deter graffiti on large surface walls. Polycarbonate glazing in communal areas proved tougher and more resistant than glass. Most bemusing of all, certain types of plant deterred vandalism – no less than thirty-eight harsh, hardy and prickly shrubs were deemed sturdy enough to withstand the persistent attacks of a youth delinquent. Crucially, the ability for youth to flit in and out of view in the ambiguous spaces of renewal and decline, coupled with the growth and development of the figure of the juvenile delinquent, was central to the growing architectural desire to move away from large open spaces and easy-to-access communal areas, described by Alan Moad as 'vandal-traps.'[165] Leather and Matthews left their readers in no doubt. Fundamental flaws in the architecture of renewal were a major cause of youth crime, with the pair stressing that 'the provision of supervision should be as much a part of the design process as is the planning of the vehicular network. There cannot be too much supervision whether it is organised or of an incidental nature.'[166]

[164] Leather and Matthews, 'What the Architects Can Do', p. 119
[165] Moad, 'Self-Destruction of a New Jerusalem'. See also A. Miller, 'Vandalism and the Architect' in C. Ward (ed.), *Vandalism* (London: Architectural Press, 1973), pp. 96-111
[166] Leather and Matthews, 'What the Architects Can Do', p. 126

Conclusion

Wandering through Liverpool's inner city in 1975, Paul, a photographer having only recently moved from London to document the communities of Everton and Toxteth, fondly recalled what to modern observers would be a curious and unusual feature of the city's streets. The community's most public of spaces appeared to have been appropriated, supervised, even controlled and regulated, by its youngest members:

> This may seem strange but I found that the first line of defence in that community were the kids. They were always there and they approached you wanting to know who you are and what you were doing.[167]

In Paul's memory, children were omnipresent within the public and semi-public spaces of the inner city, something his evocative photo-documentary would illustrate.[168] Youth was a central figure in the public life of the inner city during the period of renewal and decline. Yet to paint youth merely as the passive victims of their environment – trapped by multiple social, economic and material deprivations – would be thoroughly inaccurate. Instead, they proved reactive and adaptive to their wider situation, governed by an agency that followed different logics from that of the planner, the official or the adult. Paul's memories, and his photography, paint the inner city's children as curious, inquisitive, defensive and creative; far from the mere victims of circumstance.

That local youth needed to be so was evident. Whereas *children* seldom entered into the thoughts of the urban planner or the council official, the figure of *the child* was a conceptual cornerstone of the landscapes that modernist urban planning sought to create. Parks, recreation, attractive open spaces and a multitude of leisure activities would solve the longstanding issues of deprivation, boredom and delinquency. That Liverpool promised its children so much was matched only in how very little it delivered to them. Funding shortages, bureaucratic inefficiencies and the unravelling of the modernist planning agenda left few playgrounds and plenty of open space, though it was neither planned nor attractive. As adults abandoned these fallow and interstitial

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[167] Interview with Paul Trevor, 30/09/2016, p. 2
[168] Exit Photography Group, *Survival Programmes*

spaces, it was left for children to actively adopt them into their everyday routines of play. In doing so, they transformed a landscape of little use into a central and productive cultural space and a key site of sociality. Through play, useless space became useful once more in a trend witnessed in renewal-ravaged inner cities across Britain.

Likewise, the particular material formations of the inner city encouraged activities deemed to be somewhat more *verboten*; the unclaimed nature of interstitial space invited conquest, its debris supplied the weapons, and its lack of adult supervision provided the opportunity to misbehave. However, Bill Osgerby has suggested that during instances of profound transformation, 'youth's metaphorical capacity becomes powerfully extended.'[169] The juvenile delinquent's *emplacement* within the rapidly changing space of the inner city indicates a conflict over the use of space between adults and youth and reveals the mutually constitutive anxieties that surrounded both youth *and* the inner city. Postwar panics regarding the shifting nature of youth were transplanted onto urban environments, whereas anxieties surrounding the breakdown of inner cities were shouldered onto local youth; a process that obscured the boundary between delinquency and play and further encouraged the growing trend toward the architectural micro-management of urban spaces, as previously witnessed in the football stadium. This process engulfed not just the material space of the inner city, but also the communities residing there, who were increasingly perceived in terms of lawlessness and criminality. Vandal-proofing the inner city was a small part of a much wider attempt to fundamentally extend the governance and control of urban space, trends that will be explored in the following chapter, which details the extent to which the material form of the inner city was enabling crime amongst its communities and examines the police's attempts to regulate and control the spaces of urban decline.

[169] Osgerby, *Youth in Britain since 1945*, p. 2

Chapter Five – Between the Anvil and the Hammer: Policing the Spaces of Renewal and Decline

Policing the Inner City

On a hot July evening in 1981, several officers of Merseyside Police stopped and questioned a local youth riding a motorcycle on Selborne Street in Toxteth. As home to some of the city's poorest and most marginalised residents, including Liverpool's black community, tensions regarding policing practices in the area were well established. Word quickly spread through nearby streets that the young black man had been arrested over the alleged theft of the bike and was being held in the back of the police van. A crowd soon gathered to remonstrate with the officers and within a matter of minutes no fewer than eight police vehicles had been brought in as back up. Present at the scene was twenty-year-old photography student Leroy Cooper, who recalled how:

> [The police] were saying it was nothing to do with us. But it was something to do with us. This was *our* community. These were *our* streets.[1]

Three officers were injured in the ensuing fracas, Cooper was arrested for their apparent assault and the police van carrying him – though not the motorcyclist, who had used the ensuing mêlée to escape – left Toxteth under a storm of bricks and stones. The incident ignited longstanding tensions and, for the next three days and nights, the areas surrounding Upper Parliament Street, Lodge Lane and Park Road descended into lawlessness, which – alongside concurrent disturbances in London, Chapeltown in Leeds and Moss Side in Manchester – sent shockwaves across the nation and brought the state of Britain's inner cities into sharp focus. Football matches, Orange Lodge marches and papal visits had previously and suddenly erupted to seize control of the urban form, but all paled in comparison to the scale of these disorders. Toxteth was temporarily transformed into a battleground, with John Cornelius, a resident of Lodge Lane, describing 'an entire skyline of angry crimson with dense banks of black smoke hanging threateningly above the rooftops…the view is like a Hieronymus Bosch

[1] Italics added by author. Interview with Leroy Cooper, *Liverpool Echo*, 4th July 2011

painting of Hell.'[2] Pitched street battles reignited at the end of the month and, six weeks after Cooper's arrest, the disturbances had left one dead, 781 police officers injured, 214 police vehicles damaged and 150 buildings burnt to the ground.[3] The estimated cost of damages to an area already devastated by decades of severe urban decline approached £11 million.[4]

Deeply rooted racial discrimination and disadvantage, geographically focused on the L8 postal district, was a major cause of the disturbances. Estimated to make up eight per cent of the city's total population, black people in postwar Liverpool faced what was described as a 'uniquely horrific' situation: long-term unemployment, poor access to housing and social provision, a lack of political representation and severe ghettoization – trends that have been well covered in a variety of reports and subsequent academic works.[5] In particular, the local black community was subject to an institutionally racist police force whose tactics included heightened levels of surveillance, harassment under stop and search powers, the planting of evidence, allegations of racist remarks, and arrests following subjective and ill-defined charges such as "abusive behaviour" or "resisting arrest" that frequently occurred in reaction to a perceived racial slur.[6] Therefore, Cooper's arrest on 3rd July was a scene gravely familiar to

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[2] J. Cornelius, *Liverpool 8* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), pp. 119-121

[3] D. Frost and R. Phillips, *Liverpool '81: Remembering the Riots* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), p. 2

[4] Murden, 'City of Change and Challenge', p. 444

[5] Lord Gifford, W. Brown and R. Bundey, *Loosen the Shackles: First Report of the Liverpool 8 Inquiry into Race Relations in Liverpool* (London: Karia Press, 1989), p. 22, p. 82. For further reference see Liverpool Youth Organisation Committee, *Special but Not Separate: The Report of a Working Party of the Liverpool Youth Organisation Committee on the Situation of Young Coloured People in Liverpool* (Liverpool: Youth Organisation Committee, 1968); North West Area Young Conservatives, *Sick City: A Report on Community Relations in Liverpool* (Liverpool: North West Area Young Conservatives, 1974); Merseyside Area Profile Group, *Racial Disadvantage in Liverpool – An Area Profile: Evidence Submitted to the Parliamentary Home Affairs Committee, Race Relations Sub Committee, Session 1979-1980 on Racial Disadvantage* (Liverpool: Merseyside Area Profile Group, 1980); M. Kettle and L. Hodges, *Uprising! The Police, The People and the Riots in Britain's Cities* (London: Pan Books, 1982); P. Scraton, 'Policing and Institutionalised Racism on Merseyside' in D. Cowell, T. Jones and J. Young (eds), *Policing the Riots* (London: Junction Books, 1982); Merseyside Community Relations Council, *Racial Discrimination and Disadvantage in Employment in Liverpool: Evidence Submitted to the House of Commons Select Committee on Employment* (Liverpool: Merseyside Area Profile Group, 1986); Liverpool Black Caucus, *The Racial Politics of Militant in Liverpool: The Black Community's Struggle for Participation in Local Politics, 1980-1986* (Liverpool: Merseyside Area Profile Group, 1986); J. Brown, *Dropping Anchor, Setting Sail: Geographies of Race in Black Liverpool* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); J. Belchem, *Before the Windrush: Race Relations in Twentieth Century Liverpool* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014)

[6] Merseyside Area Profile Group, *Racial Disadvantage in Liverpool*, pp. 72-74

residents, lighting a powder keg upon which longstanding grievances regarding racial discrimination in the city were openly aired.

The unique scale of the disturbances raised wider questions about race relations in Liverpool and exposed the general ignorance to both the extent and nature of the problem. However, to see the disorder *solely* as the violent reaction of a frustrated and systematically discriminated community would be incorrect, important though it is. A spectrum of grievances was present in which significant numbers of the black community vocally disapproved of unfolding events and significant numbers of white residents joined in. Importantly, the summer of 1981 witnessed major police confrontation in nineteen other areas of Merseyside, leading Michael Parkinson to describe the events as 'a poor people's revolt against authority.'[7] As the most significant outbreak of public disorder for half a century, a complex mixture of causes sparked the disturbances alongside racial discrimination, including unemployment, rampant inflation, political alienation, heavy-handed policing and urban decline. In providing an analysis of policing in Liverpool's inner city during this period, the focus of this chapter falls on the final two issues; charting how policing reacted and adapted to the material change of renewal programmes and subsequent urban decline, and how working-class communities negotiated with, and at times resisted, the application of law and order in their neighbourhoods. Piecing together the delicate negotiation between community and authority, it analyses how broader fears regarding law and order in the inner city made tangible changes to inner city spaces.

This is not to downplay the significant racial aspects of July 1981 but merely to suggest that policing in the inner city operated within a wider ideological framework of decline. To many, including local police forces, "the inner city" had become a uniquely dangerous and lawless urban space, understandings that did not explode into public consciousness alongside the petrol bombs and pitched battles of 1981 but had in fact been festering since at least the late 1960s and, as previous chapters have demonstrated, were

[7] K. Oxford, *Evidence to the Scarman Inquiry, Chief Constable of Merseyside* (1981), p. 6; M. Parkinson, *Liverpool on the Brink: One City's Struggle Against Government Cuts* (Berkshire: Policy Journals, 1985), p. 15

actualised through certain locations such as the football stadium, or through emplaced constructions such as the juvenile delinquent. Indeed, large-scale disorder was a recurring symptom of the inner city in this period, occurring in no fewer than seven of the eleven years between 1975 and 1985.[8] Toxteth itself witnessed serious public disorder in 1972 and again in 1985. Widening the perspective to include the perceived environmental and social breakdown of the inner city demonstrates how methods of policing during the period leading up to 1981 and immediately afterwards were driven by grave concerns that the material composition of the inner city was conducive to criminality. In this regard, the Toxteth disturbances represent the apex of a much wider trend.

Broader fears regarding the inner city were plainly expressed in subsequent media reportage of "the riots". Newspapers played upon their readers' common-sense understandings of the inner city as an uncivilised and anarchic urban space: rioters were irrational and insane, photographs concentrated on riot equipment, bloodied policemen and burnt-out buildings, opinion columns consistently utilised metaphors of war.[9] Some outlets stressed the sinister aspects that were administering the disorder. The *Echo*, for example, reported that 'two coloured motorcyclists were buzzing around the area like mobile generals, surveying police positions and rallying their own forces.'[10] Whichever depiction was chosen – the inner city as lawless anarchy or as corrupting centre of organised vice – both reinforced a spatial "othering" with relation to the "civilised" society that existed beyond its boundaries, perpetuating the image of "the inner city" as the spatially materialised locus of social breakdown and national decline.[11] In doing so, criminogenic tendencies were placed on large swathes of the urban population. For example, Merseyside's Chief Constable, Kenneth Oxford, stressed the 'aggressive nature'

[8] 1975 (Chapeltown), 1976 (Notting Hill), 1977 (Lewisham) 1979 (Southall), 1980 (St Pauls) 1981 (Brixton, Chapeltown, Moss Side, Toxteth) and 1985 (Handsworth, Broadwater, Brixton, Toxteth)
[9] Burgess, 'News From Nowhere', p. 203
[10] *Liverpool Echo*, 6th July 1981
[11] See Burgess, 'News From Nowhere', pp. 192-228; Saumarez Smith, 'The Inner City Crisis and the End of Urban Modernism', pp. 578-598

and 'belligerent attitude' of certain city-dwellers, complaining that particular areas had 'a natural proclivity towards violence.'[12]

Importantly, Burgess has stressed that the newspapers 'were much exercised not only by social and economic circumstances but also the environmental conditions of the inner cities.'[13] Their position as a suitable breeding ground for mob violence was reinforced by several frontline dispatches, which positioned the physical milieu of urban decline as directly conducive to disorder. Ubiquitous in many reports was the combination of rundown terraces and the poorly planned, vandalised postwar public housing estates. Toxteth, according to the *Sunday Telegraph*, was 'the sort of area where it is hard to tell the riot damage from the urban decay.'[14] In short, the criminality of the participants, the insanity of the events and the deplorable conditions in which they occurred could not be separated; each could only be understood through the other. The riots could not have occurred anywhere *but* the inner city. After all, where else could 'large tenement blocks offer refuge to rioters escaping from the police, and a grandstand for audiences looking on from a safe height'? Where else would a woman 'lean out of a block of flats inciting rioters to "Kill the bastard pigs"'? Where else could masked men 'set up base camp in a tower block and hand out petrol bombs to their frenzied army of teenagers' or 'take up positions in high rise flats and flyovers to hurl down rocks'?[15]

While the ensuing images of the state's belligerent response shocked the nation, the militarisation of inner city street life and the intensification of the coercive capabilities of the police had been mounting for some time. Clive Emsley has suggested that the *modus operandi* of the police changed little over the first two-thirds of the century.[16] Officers, likely male, would patrol a designated territory (or "beat") on foot. However, from the 1960s onwards

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[12] K. Oxford, *Report of the Police Committee on Merseyside Disorders (Evidence to the Scarman Inquiry)*, (Liverpool: Merseyside Police, 1981), p. 3; 'Toxteth: Respect for the Law, Respect for the People', *Castle Street Circular*, 130, July 1981 quoted in Belchem, *Before the Windrush*, p. 252
[13] Burgess, 'News From Nowhere', p. 193
[14] *Sunday Telegraph*, 12th July 1981
[15] *The Times*, 22nd July 1981; *Liverpool Echo*, 6th July 1981; *Daily Star*, 7th July 1981; *Guardian*, 10th July 1981
[16] C. Emsley, *Crime and Society in Twentieth Century England* (Harlow: Longman, 2011), p. 153

policing in Britain's major cities evolved rapidly. Suburbanisation, the rise of the car and urban renewal and decline ushered in a hectic pace of change that, alongside a move towards greater efficiencies and centralisation in the midst of chronic manpower shortages, were putting the old systems of beat policing under strain. Importantly, the solutions proposed signalled a fundamental shift away from consensus policing towards firmer, more intrusive responses based around the maintenance of public order. The late 1960s and 1970s in particular witnessed the territorialisation of the inner city on behalf of the police, who trialled a variety of social control mechanisms, the aims of which closely resembled a Foucauldian panopticon.[17] These developments were a result of concerns regarding the perceived breakdown of order in the inner city, and the 1981 disturbances were a response to their development. While it is important to avoid overly simplistic and nostalgic interpretations of the traditional "neighbourhood bobby" – enshrined in Constable Dixon of the long-running TV series *Dixon of Dock Green* – the changes of the 1960s onwards undoubtedly ushered in a deterioration in the relationship between the police and ever more alienated local communities.[18]

Whereas fears of militarisation were almost as old as the force itself, by the 1970s the turn towards public order policing awoke genuine fears that 'a new kind of paramilitary policing, hitherto confined to British colonies, was being developed furtively for Britain herself.'[19] The events of 1981 merely solidified these anxieties. For example, on 9th July the *Daily Mail* advised English forces to turn to the Royal Ulster Constabulary, 'the specialists in contemporary urban terror, for practical advice.'[20] Whether official channels were opened is unclear but tactics from the Troubles were certainly aped. CS gas was used for public order purposes for the first time on the British mainland (just as it had been in Bogside, the Falls Road and Lenadoon) and the well-established RUC tactic of driving vehicles towards crowds was first mimicked in Manchester and was quickly adopted on Merseyside, though neither method had the desired

[17] See B. Goold, *CCTV and Policing: Public Area Surveillance and Police Practices in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 6
[18] For example, see C. Emsley, *The English Police: A Political and Social History* (London: Longman, 1996), p. 171
[19] *Ibid*, pp. 183-184
[20] *Daily Mail*, 9th July 1981

result.[21] A strong wind blew CS gas back into police lines on Upper Parliament Street and aggressive driving techniques were linked to the death of local resident, David Moore. Subsequent decisions to further arm the police in the aftermath did little to dispel fears. As the Thatcher government set about rolling back the state, the police found themselves in the privileged position of enjoying pay rises and an expansion in numbers and resources. By 1982, Cowell, Young and Jones summed up the general mood by declaring that the 'changes in policing methods over the last decade have created a virtually autonomous and dangerously isolated police force, operating in inner cities without the support or even, it would seem, the consent of the community at large.'[22]

Most importantly, these processes were *place-specific*. If changes to the inner city were driving numerous developments in policing, many of the new technologies and strategies were tried and tested within its apparently dangerous spaces and on the working-class communities that resided there. As such, these communities had a relationship with law and order that was, at best, unclear. For example, in 1980 Ken Oxford claimed that crime was 'a concentrated problem…*greater by far* in the Inner City than that in other areas of Merseyside.'[23] In line with national trends, Liverpool's crime figures rose steeply from the mid-1960s onwards. However it was the inner city where these increases were perceived to have been most intense. By 1977, they contributed a third of the county's total recorded crime figures despite containing just nineteen per cent of the total population.[24] By that point, Merseyside Police had the highest recorded crime rate, the greatest number of employees and the highest costs per capita of any force in Britain excluding Northern Ireland. Moreover, the inner city had become defined by intensive

[21] For reference, see *Public Disorder on Merseyside, July-August 1981, Report to the Merseyside Police Committee by the Chief Constable of Merseyside, K. G. Oxford, C.B.E., Q.P.M, 18th September 1981*, p. 4 LRO H942.7210858 MER; *Inner City Violence, July 1981: Relations between Merseyside Police and the Community* TNA HO 325/424

[22] D. Cowell, T. Jones and J. Young, *Policing the Riots* (London: Junction, 1982), synopsis

[23] K. Oxford, 'Preface' in McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 10

[24] Italics added by author. Appendix D: Liverpool Inner City Partnership: A Police View of the Inner City Problems in *Public Disorder on Merseyside, July-August 1981*, pp. 2-3

regimes of policing that would see the force waged in a constant struggle with local communities for the control of urban space.[25]

Whether intensive regimes of policing brought about hostile community reactions or vice versa is a moot point. As Cooper's introductory quote suggests, a police presence in certain areas was perceived by communities to be an aggressive move, an invasion of *their* territory. As Sections I and II investigate, vigorous new tactics and technologies, mixed with longstanding community codes that traditionally held the police at arm's length, invariably brought the force into contest with inner city populations. In doing so, local communities often perceived police officers to be an unwelcome presence, whereas officers themselves felt the inner city to be a challenging and hostile urban space, a point that focused around the contentious issue of female officers in the wake of the Sex Discrimination Act 1975. As such, police officers, in line with other parties, increasingly began to call for fundamental changes to the material character of the inner city. Consequently, Section III explores how fears of the inner city as a space of lawlessness and social breakdown, as a space that worked to the detriment of effective policing, were enshrined in the wider trend towards suburbanising the inner city, and in the unlikely case of the Militant Labour council's Urban Regeneration Strategy.

[25] M. Brogden, *The Police: Autonomy and Consent* (London: Academic Press, 1982), p. 82 quoted in R. Coleman, *Reclaiming the Streets: Surveillance, Social Control and the City* (Cullompton: Willan, 2004), p. 102

Section I – Producing New Spaces of Surveillance

The police force in Liverpool responded to rising levels of crime by adopting a series of tactics that installed intensive regimes of policing over urban space. This section traces the force's efforts to establish an orderly city out of renewal and decline, evaluating experiments into new technologies, the establishment of specific public order divisions and an increasingly high-profile presence in the inner city. Not only did the prospect of panopticism look increasingly unrealistic in an era of severe urban decline, but these new tactics would also have a significant impact on how certain communities in the city were monitored, controlled and policed.

One of the earliest attempts to establish an orderly city during this period was a Liverpool City Police experiment into closed circuit television technology. Acting Chief Constable Herbert Balmer drew up the "Commandos" squadron – an undercover network of 'seventy keen young constables and ten policewomen disguised as workmen, married couples, businessmen and layabouts' – in 1964.[26] Patrolling Liverpool's main shopping thoroughfare, they aimed to reduce rates of shoplifting, assault and prostitution with the assistance of six CCTV cameras placed at key points along the city's main shopping thoroughfare, Church Street. Wearing everything from 'pin-stripe suits and bowler hats to dungarees and cloth caps', each commando team carried a two-way radio and were ready to spring into action once given the order from the monitoring room.[27] Writing in the *Observer*, William Millinship explained how the new system worked:

> The hidden, remote-control television camera on a high roof swivels and tilts. The powered zoom lens puts a car thief in action 400 yards away in close-up on the police monitor screen. A radio call alerts the nearest thief-catching commando patrol, and the Liverpool Police chalk up another success for their "Big Brother" technique of crime detection.[28]

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[26] *Observer*, 27th December 1964. See also *Liverpool Echo*, 16th November 1964
[27] *Guardian*, 21st November 1964
[28] *Observer*, 27th December 1964. See also *New York Times*, 19th November 1964

Whereas the initial results were promising – Balmer claimed that the Commandos had alleviated the workload of overburdened detectives and that crime in the area covered had witnessed a considerable decline – by 1968 the cameras were being quietly wrapped up under mounting accusations that they were nothing more than an expensive gimmick.[29] The incoming Chief Constable, James Haughton, told the press that 'we are doing something quite different.' On unofficial reports that the cameras had become a source of deep division, Haughton refused to comment, adding only that 'I am not a great believer in telling criminals what we are doing.'[30]

Nevertheless, the formation of the Commandos during the mid-1960s was noteworthy for several reasons. Firstly, they appeared to neatly encapsulate the modernising (and modernist) zeitgeist in the approach to policing urban problems. In 1966, Home Secretary Roy Jenkins commended the scheme and pledged to further 'harness the resources of modern science to police work to a much greater extent than had been done up to now.'[31] As the first permanent public network of CCTV cameras in Britain, Europe or the United States, the groundbreaking nature of the project is obvious, representing the earliest foray into a technology that would later make drastic changes to the nature of urban space in the late-twentieth century.[32] Tellingly, when Liverpool re-adopted public CCTV surveillance in the mid-1990s, the cameras' placement followed a remarkably similar pattern. Moreover, despite the project's failure, valuable information and experience had been gained and, crucially, shared in the process. The ramifications of the scheme and its potential uses in other problematic urban spaces have already been hinted at. For example, by the time

[29] *Guardian*, 21st April 1965
[30] *Guardian*, 4th January 1968
[31] *Guardian*, 11th June 1966
[32] Germany was an initial leader in the field, though systems in Hamburg (1956), Munich (1958), Hannover (1959) and Frankfurt (1960) were used exclusively for traffic violations. Munich trialled mobile CCTV for policing large gatherings in November 1964. D. Kammerer, 'Police Use of Public Video Surveillance in Germany from 1956: Management of Traffic, Repression of Flows, Persuasion of Offenders', *Surveillance and Society*, 6.1 (2009), pp. 43-47. CCTV was used in many non-public settings in the US during the 1950s but the first permanently installed public cameras were in Olean, NY in 1968. *New York Times*, 9th August 1969 and *Olean Times Herald*, 5th October 2008. In Britain, CCTV had been used for traffic management as early as 1956 or on a temporary basis during large events in London. Following the installation of Liverpool's cameras, the Met tested similar schemes in Hatton Garden and Ruislip in 1965. C. Williams, 'Police Surveillance and the Emergence of CCTV in the 1960s', *Crime Prevention and Community Safety*, 5.3 (2003), pp. 27-37

When Saturday Comes parodied the disciplinary landscape of the football stadium (Image 3.1), CCTV was already a well-established technique for controlling disorderly spectators. Moreover, the scheme drew the attention of national and international newspapers, and forces from across Britain and America sent officers to Liverpool to view the system, including London and Chicago.[33] By 1967, similar schemes had been established in Ruislip, Hatton Garden and Croydon, although, like the Commandos, they endured mixed rates of success.[34] However, if the sizeable expense of camera technology was not viable for the high street, it certainly proved feasible in the protection of the most vital organs of the British state, as by 1969 cameras had become a permanent fixture in politically sensitive areas of London.[35]

Most importantly, CCTV was introduced as a technical fix into what was perceived to be a troublesome and unruly area. In introducing its readers to the Commandos, the *Observer* played on Liverpool's seafaring heritage, transient communities and hard working-class character to paint the city centre as a deeply problematic urban space. It noted that 'with a shifting population and tough local gangs, Liverpool's reputation rivals that of Marseilles.'[36] Balmer was not shy of introducing potentially innovative solutions into a challenging material and social environment. Speaking to the *Daily Post*, he lamented that 'the crime at present being committed in this city is greater than ever' and suggested that only '*more effective methods*' could combat it.[37] The shift away from policing the city via the bobby on the beat was clearly apparent and the ability to probe deeper, wider and more softly than ever before was an important development, the Orwellian overtones of which were not lost on commentators. For example, the *Observer* noted the desire to 'create a network of television eyes', even reporting that upon the apprehension of one man in,

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[33] *Supplementary Report on the Experimental Use of Television Cameras and Commando Police Patrolling by Liverpool City Police*, TNA HO 377/16; *New York Times*, 10th January 1965
[34] Williams, 'The Emergence of CCTV in the 1960s', p. 32
[35] *Ibid*, p. 33
[36] *Observer*, 27th December 1964
[37] Italics added by author. *Liverpool Daily Post*, 13th November 1964

Image 5.1 – The LCCP's consumerist spaces of urban renewal – into which CCTV could have policed and regulated the norms of acceptable behaviour (1965)

the arresting officer told the suspect, 'you were being watched on TV – we can watch every time you breathe.'[38]

The adoption of CCTV can therefore be seen as part of an 'ideological offensive to reclaim the streets in the name of the desired sociospatial order.'[39] The scheme utilised the rhetoric of public safety to create the image of an enjoyable, consumer-orientated environment. While the 1965 LCCP never specifically mentioned video surveillance, city planners will have no doubt been aware of the latent potential of the Commandos experiment to help create the pleasant consumerist spaces it anticipated. As seen from Image 5.1, the plan set out a series of bright, colourful and exciting plazas that implicitly indicated what types of behaviour would and would not be tolerated. The scheme was already allowing panhandling, street trading and other forms of nuisance or

[38] *Observer*, 27th December 1964; *Observer*, 7th January 1968
[39] Coleman, *Reclaiming the Streets*, p. 2

suspicious behaviour to be policed out of the city centre in an attempt to shape the discourse of acceptable conduct in the city's public and commercial spaces. The similarities with the systems of the late-twentieth century are evident and Martin Gill suggests that 'many of features of the 'new surveillance' were in fact present in the surveillance systems of the 1960s, calling into question any easy association between this phenomenon and post-industrial society.'[40]

That Orwell's Big Brother came to the mind of journalists was no coincidence. The panopticism of the project was evident. The panopticon was an eighteenth-century prison design comprising of a central inspection lodge with prisoners' cells fanning out in a circular pattern. The central tower would shine bright lights to enable the inspector to peer into every cell, whilst simultaneously obscuring them from the prisoner's gaze.[41] By physically removing those who are watching from the immediate vicinity of the watched, Norris and Armstrong have suggested that CCTV 'represents an extension of the architecture of disciplinary power encapsulated in Bentham's panopticon', precluding the possibility of a reciprocal exchange of visual data.[42] Moreover, the possibility of a direct and authoritative response represented only a fraction of the system's disciplinary power. The inspector could, after all, only observe one cell at a time. As Foucault suggested, the genius of the design rested in its ability to alter behaviour:

> He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relations in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection.[43]

That Liverpool's cameras were released in a blaze of publicity (it is even claimed that Balmer staged arrests for the purposes of media reports) was no

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[40] M. Gill, 'Introduction' in M. Gill (ed.), *CCTV* (Leicester: Perpetuity Press, 2003), p. 4
[41] D. Lyon, 'Bentham's Panopticon: From Moral Architecture to Electronic Surveillance' in B. Goold (ed.), *Critical Concepts in Criminology* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 84
[42] C. Norris and G. Armstrong, 'Introduction: Power and Vision' in C. Norris, J. Moran and G. Armstrong (eds), *Surveillance, Closed Circuit Television and Social Control* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 5
[43] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 202-203

coincidence.[44] Hoping to maximise the deterrent effect of the cameras, the police wished for the system and the ever-present premise, or threat, of being watched to be common knowledge. Moreover, just as the prisoner can never truly know if he is the subject of surveillance, the police installed several mock cameras in order 'to frighten criminals into thinking that the coverage was almost total', the number and location of which was kept a strictly guarded secret.[45]

The Liverpool experiments were important in that, as Chris Williams has stated, the early trials into CCTV were intimately connected with many of the concerns at the heart of postwar policing.[46] Its logic was indicative of contemporary anxieties regarding policing and urban space and represented just the first of many attempts to utilise new surveillance techniques to police unruly urban environments. Moreover, it highlighted that attempts to tackle rising crime rates and manpower shortages were often done through technological innovation. CCTV, with its ability to fundamentally alter the time, space and nature of surveillance, provided the opportunity to further boost productivity and establish control over a rapidly altering urban environment and the police's access to information within it. In this regard, the Commandos were driven by a similar logic to a new system of beat policing that had been trialled in nearby Kirkby since 1958. Reacting to the new town environment, the "Unit Beat" utilised patrol vehicles to complement an officer's walking beat. As a result, beats became much bigger and rotating shifts were introduced to ensure the efficient use of manpower. From 1962, the system became ingrained into the national consciousness through the gritty and hugely popular television series *Z-Cars*. Set in a thinly veiled fictional version of Liverpool, it followed the trials and tribulations of officers in "Newtown" and its ageing neighbour "Seaport". By 1965 policing in Kirkby had been completely reorganised around the car, with Liverpool fully transplanting the scheme onto the inner city three years later.

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[44] Memories of the Commandos Squad by E. Hyams, <http://liverpoolcitypolice.co.uk/commando-squad/4551788338> [accessed on 14/01/2017]
[45] *Observer*, 7th January 1968; Memories of the Commandos Squad by E. Hyams, <http://liverpoolcitypolice.co.uk/commando-squad/4551788338> [accessed on 14/01/2017]
[46] Williams, 'The Emergence of CCTV in the 1960s', p. 28. See also W. Cockcroft, *From Cutlasses to Computers: The Police Force in Liverpool, 1836-1989* (Market Drayton: S.B. Publications, 1991)

Moreover, the Commandos scheme highlighted the move towards specialised departments within the organisation of the police, and specialised public order departments more specifically. Haughton may have scrapped the camera-driven Commandos, but key features continued through their replacements, the Task Force, established in 1969, and later the Operational Support Division, established in 1976. Firstly, the Task Force utilised much of the technology trialled, including Land Rovers, surveillance operations (albeit without prohibitively expensive cameras), wireless communications and centralised operational support. Secondly, just like the Commandos, they incorporated into their mantra the logic of swamping problematic spaces at certain times. As early as 1965, a Home Office report had dampened Balmer's claims that camera surveillance was driving down crime, instead giving credit to the flooding of a limited area by a small army of plain-clothes officers.[47] The Task Force, a sixty-eight-strong team freed from the everyday duties of policing and aimed solely at combatting street disorder, took these tactics to heart. Reviewing its first year in operation, Superintendent Carroll of the Liverpool and Bootle Constabulary stated its main aim to be the 'deployment of sufficient police officers in any designated area for a specific role within a limited period.'[48] Likewise, in an overview of the force in 1978, the *Listener* described their replacements, the OSD, as the 'highly disciplined, big, heavy policemen…who generally provide the muscle to keep the peace.'[49]

The growth of specialised public order departments was representative of a firmer and more intrusive policing method directed towards the inner city based on the principal of 'fire-fighting' – giving greater credence to suppressing problems than understanding symptoms. Naturally, this embraced heavy-handed and antagonistic tactics. By 1979, the *Guardian* suggested that Merseyside Police had 'chosen to react to its environment by adopting an aggressive, high profile presence, patrolling incessantly and reacting quickly and in strength.' If deemed necessary, a special "scramble" call could 'bring 20

[47] *Report on a Visit to Liverpool City Police Force 18-20 January 1965*, TNA HO 377/15
[48] Carroll, 'Task Force', p. 323
[49] *Listener*, 2nd November 1978

police cars converging for the arrest of one man.'[50] Indeed, the militaristic aspects of flooding troublesome areas with a substantial police presence for short periods of time was not lost on either the officers involved or local communities. Speaking to a former officer of the Task Force – described by one observer as 'a hated and dreaded unit' – James McClure was told that:

> There wasn't a bastid left in the street, because they didn't like the jeeps. They seemed to impart an aura of fear – of terror! – they didn't know how many big hairy bobbies were in the back of it.[51]

The Land Rovers and, later, Range Rovers of the Task Force were dubbed by local communities as "meat wagons" and "battle taxis", sparking outcry from concerned groups of citizens.[52] Tellingly, the jeeps would be rusticated to the outer divisions in 1976 on account of their 'aggressive' image' and 'paramilitary' style.[53]

Alongside ritual displays of force, many officers adopted a confrontational approach when policing inner city areas. Indeed, for Parker – whose study of adolescent gangs brought him into routine contact with police officers – physical force, or the implied threat of it, was a common weapon in the officer's armoury. The officer on his inner city beat, Parker found, 'learns to put on a front, articulated by his size and demeanour, the inevitable jeep, the truncheon, the Alsatian dog.'[54] Such approaches were even noted by the force itself. In the aftermath of the 1981 disturbances, a working party on community relations admitted that 'policing generally in certain areas, including Liverpool 8, tended to be very physical.'[55] Such descriptions chimed with Steve's memories. A former officer in Toxteth during the 1970s, upon recalling his partner hitting a suspect across the face with a baton for using bad language, Steve suggested 'I didn't want police officers to hit people, but violence was part

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[50] *Guardian*, 15th November 1979
[51] D. Humphry, *Police Power and Black People* (London: Granada, 1972), p. 17; McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 37
[52] *Guardian*, 15th November 1979
[53] McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 36, p. 489
[54] Parker, *View from the Boys*, p. 163
[55] *Merseyside Police Authority – Interim Report of the Working Party on Police/Public Relationships; The Merseyside Disturbances – The Role and Responsibility of the Police Authority (December 1981)*, p. 4 LRO HW352.2 MER

of the job.'[56] Likewise, McClure's conversations colourfully encapsulated the approach certain officers took to inner city communities. An Inspector from the south sub of A-Division suggested 'crowds of dirty-ankled, half-pissed lame brains' populated the city's tenements, to which only a 'swift and draconic' policing style would suffice.[57] Significantly, by 1985 the *Merseyside Crime Survey* found that sixty per cent of officers knew of a colleague who was 'regularly and unnecessarily ill-mannered in dealing with the public', whereas forty per cent said they 'knew personally of officers who regularly used more force than was necessary to do their job properly.'[58]

Ritual displays of force and the physical approach of individual officers combined with acute levels of suspicion placed on certain inner city populations and their movements through urban space. Emanating from the 1824 Vagrancy Act, "sus law" permitted an officer to stop, search and potentially arrest an individual suspected of *intending* to commit an offence. It was, according to a former officer, 'a key tactic in combatting inner city crime and disorder.'[59] Although abolished under the 1981 Criminal Laws Amendment Bill – after a litany of evidence was presented documenting the discriminatory use of the Act, especially against black, inner city populations – the technique largely continued under the similar but less formal powers of 'Stop and Search' (or "sas").[60] Indeed, the shift towards "sas" was well underway before the abolition of "sus". As Brogden stated, excessive use of "sus" led to an 'increased territorial control of the inner city in the early 1970s', which was, in turn, 'followed by an overproduction in public order cases before the courts.' Under "sas", formal arrest was not necessary, meaning the space of social control in the inner city therefore shifted backwards from the judicial system (the courts) to the informal and quasi-judicial spaces of the city (the streets).[61] The similarity to early experiments into CCTV was clear. Writing shortly before the 1981

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[56] Interview with Steve Melia, 09/09/2015, p. 27
[57] McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 189.
[58] *Merseyside Crime Survey, 1985*, pp. 28-29, LRO HQ364.94275 KIN
[59] Stop and Search by I. McDonald <http://liverpoolcitypolice.co.uk/stop-and-search/4578881494> [accessed 09/03/2017]
[60] "Sas" stemmed from the Metropolitan Police Act 1839 and, under Section 2 of the Criminal Law Act 1967, constituted a less stringent criterion to enforce than "sus".
[61] A. Brogden, ''Sus' is Dead: But What About 'Sas'?', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 9.1 (1981), p. 49

disturbances, Brogden claimed that the development of "sas" was 'indicative of the wider dispersal of social control within the city, which has blurred the boundaries between guilt and innocence, captivity and freedom.'[62]

That the technique was used disproportionately in the inner city was evident. Brogden's report found such procedures were indicative of a certain style of policing – a social control mechanism 'used discriminatingly against the urban lower classes.'[63] Inner city areas accounted for thirty-nine per cent of the city's 167,000 annual stops by 1985, despite constituting only nineteen per cent of the population.[64] What an officer regarded as suspicious was subjective and how likely one was to be the object of police surveillance was dependent on gender, age and race. Put simply, young males were far more likely to come into contact with the intensive regimes of inner city surveillance than any other group. Of those stopped, eighty-six per cent were male and forty-two per cent between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four, a trend noticed by Parker, who claimed that 'so often are The Boys stopped, questioned and searched that the procedure, which would aggravate many other citizens, does not unduly upset them.'[65] Stop and search was so common in an area of exorbitant car crime and joyriding like St Andrew's – the Task Force and OSD would regularly send surveillance teams to nearby multi-storey car parks – that Parker stressed the everyday nature of police surveillance. That the panoptic threat of disciplinary power altered 'The Boys' behaviour was clear when Parker suggested that '*being under methodological suspicion is simply routine*.'[66] Male youths, it appeared, could be stopped on the most spurious of changes and, according to a 1980 report, experienced stop and search on average three times a year.'[67] As a young photographer wandering around the inner city in the early 1980s, Dave was familiar with "sas":

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[62] *Ibid*, p. 49
[63] *Ibid*, p. 45
[64] *Merseyside Crime Survey*, p. 3, p.12. See also *The Listener*, 2nd November 1978; Brogden, "Sus' is Dead', pp. 49-51
[65] *Ibid*, p. 26; Parker, *View from the Boys*, p. 162
[66] Italics added by author. Parker, *View from the Boys*, p. 162
[67] Brogden, "Sus' is Dead', p. 50

> I'd be out in the middle of the night and the police would stop me and ask what I was doing. They stopped you quite a lot but I'd show them my camera and they'd drive off after that.[68]

Likewise, a youth known to Parker as 'Al' found himself routinely stopped in spite of having no previous history of trouble. Al – 'a confessed innocent; he never robs, he simply 'hasn't got the nerve'' – allowed Parker to highlight the overwhelming pressure of living under surveillance.[69] Al found residing in the area 'hard to cope with' due to the fact that 'his appearance, style of dress and associates all fit the policeman's 'bad boy' stereotype.'[70]

For young black males, the chances of being an object of police surveillance were even higher. The image of Liverpool 8 as a vice area brought with it saturated levels policing and many of the tactics explained above were used most often, and most severely, within the confines of L8. A report submitted to the Parliamentary Select Committee in 1972 claimed that police were prone to arresting black people for 'subjectively evaluated street offences which are police-defined'; whereas a 1974 community relations report suggested that 'the police give special surveillance of the Liverpool 8 area.'[71] Moreover, a working party on relations between the police and communities established in the aftermath of the 1981 disturbances found that 'the allegation expressed most vociferously and most often' by the local black community was harassment, and was achieved via 'the indiscriminate and extensive use of formal "stop and search" procedures and informal questioning.'[72] Combined with institutional racism, these intensive regimes of policing proved a decisive spark in the 1981 disturbances, events that represented the complete disintegration of working relations between the police and the community. The following section investigates these relations and how communities across the

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[68] Interview with Dave Sinclair, 12/04/2016, p. 13
[69] Parker, *View from the Boys*, p. 167
[70] *Ibid*, p. 167
[71] P. McNabb, I. Melish and G. Ben-Tovim, *Patterns of Discriminatory Behaviour by Police and in the Courts Facing the Locally Born Black Population in Liverpool* (London: HMSO, 1972); North West Area Young Conservatives, *Sick City*. Both cited in Merseyside Area Profile Group, *Racial Disadvantage in Liverpool*, p. 72
[72] *Interim Report of the Working Party on Police/Public Relationships; The Merseyside Disturbances*, p. 3

inner city responded to public order policing styles that, in certain neighbourhoods, became a point of contestation, negotiation and evasion.

Section II – Alienated Communities, Contested Spaces

Community relations were a priority for police forces throughout the postwar period, but became particularly important during the 1970s as the renewal programmes of the previous decades altered the material and social make-up of inner cities. Open channels of communication were proposed as a solution to rising crime rates and as a way to placate communities increasingly unhappy with coercive styles of policing. Indeed, Chief Constable Haughton suggested that 'by allocating the correct proportion of our scarce resources' to bettering community relations, 'we can combat the growth of an 'anti-authority' or 'them and us' outlook.'[73] By 1970, Haughton had publicly committed the force to a policy of greater involvement with the public, designating each of the constabulary's twelve sub-divisional superintendents as Community Liaison Officers alongside the establishment of a force-wide Community Relations Officer in the hope of forging greater links with residents' associations and community councils.[74] Officers were encouraged to undertake voluntary work and in 1973 the *Police Journal* described the constabulary as among the forerunners of the 'wider approach to the police function in the social sphere', with a 'large majority of officers of all ranks engaged in voluntary work' – including anything from five-a-side football leagues for local children to manning the various play schemes referred to in Chapter Four.[75]

Regardless of these endeavours, the relationship between the force and inner city communities underwent significant changes with the introduction of the firmer styles of public order policing explained above. On a national level, corruption scandals and the use of heavy-handed techniques at civil, political and industrial demonstrations from the 1960s onwards dented public confidence in the police.[76] Locally, ritual displays of force, intense levels of surveillance and an often-physical approach came at the cost of community

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[73] Liverpool Police Establishment, *Liverpool and Bootle Constabulary Annual Report of the Chief Constable, 1973* (Liverpool: Liverpool Police Establishment, 1973), p. 11
[74] Liverpool Police Establishment, *Liverpool and Bootle Constabulary Annual Report of the Chief Constable, 1970* (Liverpool: Liverpool Police Establishment, 1970), p. 10
[75] Morgan, 'Liverpool: Active Police Involvement with the Community', p. 65, p. 72
[76] Emsley, *The English Police*, pp. 177-185; T. Brain, *A History of Policing in England and Wales from 1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 5-10; P. Rawlings, *Policing: A Short History* (Cullompton: Willan, 2002), pp. 200-210

relations, especially in areas like Toxteth, Vauxhall and Everton. Despite charting the constabulary's best efforts, the *Police Journal* was forced to accept that, 'as practical policemen, for a certain section of the community there will always be a war between them and us.'[77] Of course, associations between the police and working-class communities had never been faultless, but the shift away from consensus-style beat policing alienated communities further, whose responses varied from formal complaints to outright physical hostility. Writing in 1971, Jackson and Lansley found that the attitude of increasing sections of the inner city community were becoming, 'if not hostile, then at any rate wary towards the police.'[78] Their claim was well borne out in evidence. Many residents felt a growing sense of distance from their local force and efforts to open channels of communication, so publicly advertised by Haughton, often had little to no effect. In spite of four years of concerted effort, by 1974 the council's steering group on inner city crime found the communication gap to be wider than ever and suggested that community relations required 'substantial improvement.'[79]

Contact between the two parties was breaking down because of the introduction of new policing styles, of which the Unit Beat was most significant. The hope that officers would routinely leave their cars to patrol on foot was undermined by chronic manpower shortages and proved more honoured in the breach than in the observance.[80] The withdrawal of the bobby on foot as a visible and reliable street presence was keenly felt. In a report submitted to the steering group on inner city crime, tenants complained that a greater centralisation of 'resources has lead [sic] to a feeling of lack of personal contact between the police and the residents.'[81] At the heart of these complaints was the car, a tool that naturally distanced officers from their public and stripped them of the opportunity to get to know the regular patterns of the

[77] Morgan, 'Liverpool: Active Police Involvement with the Community', p. 73
[78] K. Jackson and J. Lansley, 'The Police in the Community: Experiment in Police-University Co-operation', *Police Journal*, 44.4 (1971), p. 297. See also *Scottie Press*, Issue 92, June 1979. The paper reported that a number of local mothers had complained about the attitude of officers in Vauxhall.
[79] *Crime in the City: Report of the Steering Group, 1974*, p. 3, LRO HQ364 CRI
[80] Rawlings, *Policing*, p. 200
[81] *We Live There,* p. 34. See also McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 389

neighbourhood that their beat encompassed. For example, a 1979 report into policing in Myrtle Gardens suggested that:

> The officer on the beat has virtually disappeared and has been replaced by the ubiquitous Panda car…residents no longer knew any of their local police officers, and their contact had been reduced to seeing Panda cars responding to emergency calls, crewed by officers whose objective was to deal with the situation as quickly as possible and to get out of the Gardens.[82]

The sense that the force was becoming isolated and reactive was reinforced by a system of rotating shifts, which deprived communities of the chance to form personal relationships with the police. In St Andrew's Gardens for example, Parker found 'The Boys', who spent so much of their time on the street, were unable to establish a rapport with individual officers. The result was that 'the three-shift system gives the impression that large numbers of anonymous and potentially troubling strangers are patrolling the area in strength at all times.'[83]

In addition to the Unit Beat emphasising a sense of isolation from communities, residents commonly complained of being policed "from the outside". Unlike interwar Liverpool – where Brogden and Klein have illustrated how constables were deeply embedded in the areas they policed – better pay and conditions alongside rising car ownership meant that by the 1970s few officers actually resided in the areas in which they worked.[84] The growing disjunct between the "neighbourhood bobby" and the communities they policed was inadvertently demonstrated by the 1973 public information documentary, *Between the Anvil and the Hammer*, which followed the challenges of Liverpool's inner city force. In Image 5.2, Constable Holmes, typecast as the everyman officer, can be seen alongside his smartly-dressed wife and three children outside a suburban semi-detached home, only for the film to skip to the decrepit

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[82] *"Merseyside – Into the Eighties with Pride": A Report on Community Policing in Myrtle Gardens Liverpool*, pp. 9-10, LRO HQ363.20942753 MER

[83] Parker, *View from the Boys*, p. 181

[84] J. Klein, "'Moving On' Men and the Changing Character of Interwar Working-Class Neighbourhoods: From the Files of the Manchester and Liverpool City Police', *Journal of Social History*, 38.2 (2004), pp. 407-421. See also M. Brogden, *On the Merseybeat: Policing Liverpool Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991)

Image 5.2 – Constable Holmes leaving his idyllic middle-class suburbia for work; Constable Holmes arriving at work amongst the rundown terraces of the inner city (1973)

inner city streets of his work. Later on, Holmes would emphasize this distance further, stressing that 'while I work in the police station in the middle of this environment, I would hate to live here as a permanent resident.' After a short period of deliberation, Holmes concludes, 'in fact, I wouldn't.'[85]

The issue was troubling for many residents, who complained that officers, viewed by many as professional middle-class outsiders, had little idea of the needs of the community. For example, it was reported at one meeting in the mid-1970s that tenants had requested a permanent policeman live in their block 'so that he would feel the problems of the area by being one of the residents and not an outsider.'[86] These suggestions were in fact taken up in certain areas of the inner city, such as St Andrew's Gardens. However, Parker found the scheme wanting, suggesting that the 'neighbourhood copper' was 'in practice little more than a public relations set-up to try and smooth over some of the basic antagonism.'[87] For Parker, the core problem remained: distant police officers struggled 'to develop any sense of loyalty or attachment to 'their' neighbourhood.'[88] Officers, many of whom made their feelings clear to McClure, replicated this sense of distance; one veteran even likened the inner city to a mysterious island, and the officer to an intrepid explorer among savages:

> So few of the bobbies are islanders themselves – hardly a handful actually reside here…You can imagine a young bobby letting his imagination roam a bit; seeing this island drawn on one of these old charts…All those cliff-dwellers in the high-rise flats; the bucks and a few buckesses running wild; the jungle noises and jungle behaviour of clubland; then yellow-people country, Chinatown; black-people country, Upper Parliament Street; he'll probably see five stockades with campfires burning; places he can get in out of the cold and be safe for a while.[89]

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[85] *Between the Anvil and the Hammer – A Film About the Liverpool Police*, London Television Service, 1973, TNA INF 6/2201
[86] *We Live There,* p. 34
[87] Parker, *View from the Boys*, p. 181
[88] *Ibid*, p. 181
[89] Quote has been shortened. See McClure, *Spike Island*, pp.20-21

The metaphor, though exaggerated, illustrates that officers viewed the central and inner divisions as lawless and alien places to which they had little affiliation. The stockades – the five stations of the city centre – offered respite and safety amidst the challenging terrain and the wild "bucks" and "buckesses", common police slang for the local population.

Moreover, the combination of a heavy police presence, anonymous officers and the threat of methodological suspicion placed severe limits and constraints on how certain inner city groups could use and move through urban space. Brogden, for example, found that surveillance operations were not limited to the evening and night-time, with no less than half the defendants in her research experiencing stop and search procedures in the afternoon.[90] For 'The Boys' of Parker's study, this threat of unending surveillance, of the panoptic gaze of the inspector, fundamentally altered their use of the city. In short, they removed themselves from certain spaces at certain times, regardless of intention; a point evidently demonstrated to Parker during a conversation with 'Jimbo' whilst walking into town. Parker had suggested a shortcut across a car park and well-known space of police surveillance. Jimbo's response is revealing, displaying an awareness of the rhythms and particularities of police supervision, the result being that such authoritarian control techniques were definitional of his sense of territory:

> *Jimbo* I'm not walking across no carparks and getting picked up for loitering. Come 'ed this way through Hall Street.
>
> *Self* Oh come on Jimbo, you can't get done for just walking through.
>
> *Jimbo* You can't, but I fuckin' can, they know my face, they're just waiting to stick me down.[91]

The panoptic threat of surveillance fundamentally impacts Jimbo's actions. He cannot know for certain if the carpark is being observed, yet the constant danger posed by the Task Force, who were known to concentrate surveillance

[90] Brogden, ''Sus' is Dead', p. 50
[91] Parker, *View from the Boys*, p. 187

on the areas skirting the city centre, is enough to change his pattern of movement.

Nor were Jimbo's experiences unique. After observing the tenements for over a year, Parker found that 'The Boys' assumed their social and material space to be saturated by authority. Whether this was true or not was irrelevant. That 'The Boys' 'believe 'there's fuckin' coppers everywhere' suggests that the combination of a high-profile presence, extensive surveillance operations and a forceful approach went some way to establishing a panopticon across the inner city; a disciplined space in which docile bodies adjusted their actions based on the threat of punishment.[92] While 'The Boys' were certainly not docile, much like the activities of disorderly spectators, Parker emphasised that visibility was the most important aspect in their relations with the police. What 'The Boys' defined as 'trouble…includes actually being seen by Authority. To keep out of trouble involves disappearing – out of sight, out of mind.'[93] The effect this had on the movement of young men in particular was highly significant. They would, according to Parker, 'leave the Corner to avoid policemen, wouldn't carry certain goods from A to B in case they were accused of theft, won't eat in certain restaurants or drink in certain pubs where there's been 'bother'.'[94] The result was that the social control techniques used by Merseyside Police 'impinged on The Boy's circuit of social space, partly defining territory for them, causing them to withdraw, to reduce their horizons.'[95]

This sense of distance between communities and police officers was further heightened given that many areas held complex views on law and order.[96] A communal tolerance of certain crimes continued long into the 1970s and 1980s. For example, Parker found the tenements' opinions on criminality difficult to pin down. The community was certainly not lawless or anarchistic; few residents questioned the necessity of the police, 'too many…emphasised the correctness of the law' and most expected additional policing at key times to

[92] *Ibid*, p. 187
[93] *Ibid*, p. 187
[94] *Ibid*, p. 192
[95] *Ibid*, p. 194
[96] See J. B. Mays, 'A Study of a Police Division', *British Journal of Delinquency*, 3.3 (1953), pp. 185-197; Kerr, *Ship Street*; Mays, *Growing Up in the City*; Ayers, *The Liverpool Docklands*

protect them from, for example, the football hooligans or Orange Lodge parades that routinely transformed inner city spaces into contested topophobias.[97] Instead, Parker found a communal solidarity in which "respectable" and "not so respectable" residents were both tolerant and protective of one another. "Respectable" residents, though perturbed by criminal goings-on, 'would very rarely find grassing to Authority acceptable.'[98] In short, turning a blind eye was necessary if they wished to play an active social role in the tenement. Combined with poverty and insecure wages, this created an ambiguous space in which black market economies thrived in spite of the force's best efforts. In attempting to explain how so much illegal activity could be tolerated so regularly, Parker positioned the tenement as a neighbourhood with a low standard of living that employed certain communal and sometimes illegal devices in order to improve those standards.[99] The handling of stolen goods was, according to the steering group on inner city crime, 'not a luxury but a necessity since wages or the Dole are often inadequate.'[100] Consequently, the boundaries between respectable and not became blurred as 'many residents who themselves are nearly always law abiding are happy to receive stolen goods', were willing to barter with sellers on the doorstep and make it known they were in the market for various types of 'knock-off'.[101]

The inner city's ambiguous relationship to law and order further manifested itself in the cultures of self-policing that many neighbourhoods retained. The community would, where possible, seek to resolve issues internally and away from the judicial arm of the state, meaning that the presence of the police officer was often viewed as an interference or annoyance. For example, Eddie, living in an Everton high-rise in the late 1960s, suggested that:

> If someone had robbed someone's house, you just done them in and got the stuff back. It was a very specific sense of justice…you couldn't trust

[97] Parker, *View from the Boys*, p. 38, p. 160
[98] *Ibid*, pp. 38-39
[99] *Ibid*, p. 38. See also p. 191.
[100] *We Live There,* p. 6. See also Jackson and Lansley, 'The Police in the Community, p. 294
[101] *Ibid*, p. 6; Parker, *View from the Boys*, p. 39. The tenement's black market economy was also covered in *Living Round Here*, a 1970 Granada film. See FN 5591, NWFA.

> the police. We had lots of incidences where they were twats and bullies. Last thing you did was phone the police.[102]

In the interwar tenements especially, several observers noted that these opaque relations were manifested through well-versed codes of silence. The tenements had been known as a sanctuary from the police for generations, a point highlighted by a resident of St Andrew's, who told Parker that 'once you were in the Block you were laughing, you could hide in anyone's place in those days, just sneak into someone's back kitchen till the coppers had gone.'[103] Such practices continued into the 1970s, especially as the gulf between the police and communities grew wider. A 1979 report into Myrtle Gardens tellingly described the area as 'traditionally opposed to police interference', whereas Parker found that 'nearly all residents' of St Andrew's, who held the police in cynicism based on previous experiences, 'would assist in protecting law-breakers from apprehension, not asking what crime had been committed until later.'[104] Even Alan, a fireman in the late 1970s, recalled the reactions his uniform provoked with residents of the tenement across the street:

> I wore a blue shirt and black tie. I looked like a policeman so I had to make it well known that I was a fireman. You'd get funny looks if they didn't know. The police weren't too popular around there.[105]

For Parker, the tenement's internal standards of behaviour were clearly defined. Providing sanctuary to suspected criminals and participation in the black market was tolerated and these troubles, if at all troublesome, remained largely a family matter. If caught, the adolescent with stolen property under his coat would not be reported to the police. Instead, Parker suggested, 'once 'in the 'ouse', he may be 'busted out of the four walls' or 'belted round the back kitchen', but that is merely a domestic affair…as long as he doesn't offend internal standards of behaviour, he knows he's pretty safe.'[106] Whereas

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[102] Interview with Eddie Cotton, 27/07/2015, p. 33. See also Interview with Martin van der Voort, 07/08/2015, p. 8
[103] Parker, *View from the Boys*, p. 31
[104] *"Merseyside – Into the Eighties with Pride"*, p. 10; Parker, *View from the Boys*, p. 39
[105] Interview with Alan McDonald, 10/08/2015, p. 38. See also Interview with Andrew Morris, 22/08/2015, p. 34
[106] Parker, *View from the Boys*, p. 39, p. 191

smuggling 'knock-off' into the Gardens was protected by a series of communal codes, theft or vandalism from *within* the neighbourhood would be unequivocally condemned and bring censure from 'a whole range of residents who would usually 'say nothing'.'[107] Moreover, these patterns were well known to Merseyside Police. In responding to concerns regarding rising crime rates, Haughton publicly lamented a 'failure on the part of members of the community to give the names and addresses of offenders.'[108] Keen to shift blame away from policing techniques and onto local residents and their longstanding cultures of self-policing, the Chief Constable was confident that such a tendency did not 'necessarily mean a lack of confidence in the police', though it did exemplify 'a sentimental and traditional reluctance to get someone into trouble.'[109]

Individual officers going about their daily rounds were made keenly aware of the powerful image of the interfering policeman and many adjusted their style of policing to suit the particular neighbourhood. Interviewing an officer in Copperas Hill Station, McClure demonstrated the nuanced negotiations brought about when police intentions clashed with well-established communal codes:

> I was draggin' a fella out of the Bullring one day – for screwin' a car, y'see – and this lot was about to set on me. It was only fifty yards to the police station, and I thought: Shall I start runnin' and make a fool of m'self? *Leave 'im alone!* They're all shoutin', and some are holdin' on to him as well. So I said to them, 'How old are your children? You wouldn't be sayin' that if it was *your* kids he'd been takin' into empty houses, would yer?' They all started gettin' hold of this fella then: *Right, yer bastid!* They brought him into the police station for me.[110]

In order to garner a helpful response from suspicious residents, the officer changes the crime from the theft from a car to child molestation. The former was inconsequential to a community that owned few vehicles, stood to benefit

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[107] *Ibid*, p. 39
[108] *Comments of the Chief Constable of the Merseyside Police on We Live There: A Report from some Residents on Crime and Vandalism in the Inner City* in *Crime in the City – Report of the Steering Group,* p. 3, LRO HQ364 CRI
[109] *Ibid,* p. 3
[110] McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 51

from the plunder and felt harassed by unending police surveillance of nearby car parks. The latter was a crime of growing reputation during the 1970s and played into wider unease regarding the perceived freedom of (and subsequent danger to) inner city children as explored in the previous chapter. In so doing, the crowd's reaction switches from aggression towards the officer for his intrusion into the community's affairs to disgust at the criminal. As a result, the tenement transformed from an intimidating space to an altogether more helpful one.

Not all situations offered quite so neat an escape route. Officers could routinely find themselves in danger of bodily harm if they lacked the wits to manipulate the arrest to suit communal codes, or found themselves in areas where such codes were unknown or indistinct. For example, Bob, a police officer in the mid-1970s, recalled being assaulted off-duty outside Fontenoy Gardens on New Year's Eve shortly after making an arrest.[111] Likewise, Steve, policing Toxteth in the mid-1980s, and another officer speaking to McClure told of when an attempted arrest brought the local community out in defence of the suspect, just as it had done on that hot evening of July 1981:

> We attempted an arrest on Granby Street. Two big bobbies got hold of him. He started to struggle. Within thirty seconds someone had given him two Pit-bull terriers. There was eight of us there but hundreds of them had completely surrounded us.
>
> I chased two lads in a stolen car and they crashed it…I chased him into flats where he tripped over the bottom stairs. I grabbed hold of him, everybody in the flats came out…They got the young lad away, and then, within seconds, women, men, boys and girls were all hammerin' hell out of me, kickin' and thumpin' me.[112]

To make matters worse, a common police complaint was that hostile parties could track officers' movements through the inner city by listening into the police radio frequency – an ironic move that subverted surveillance technology in order to access information and call for backup. Again, Steve recalled:

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[111] Interview with Bob Edwards, 15/08/2015, p. 11
[112] Interview with Steve Melia, 09/09/2015, p. 21; McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 100

> I've been physically assaulted with bricks a number of times because I've put an assistance call out and all I've done is brought out more people who've got the channel on in their living room.[113]

That the inner city was a space of outright enmity was evident. For example, a public relations report in 1981 suggested that police officers in the city were frequently subjected to physical violence in dealing with incidents.[114] Whilst the report undoubtedly sought to deflect blame in the aftermath of the July disturbances, there was at least some truth in the matter. Though official statistics were hard to come by, and Ken Oxford refused to publicly discuss the details of the issue, by 1979 the *Guardian* estimated that Liverpool had one of the highest rates of assaults on police officers on mainland Britain. Indeed, the paper reported that in six of the eight years up to 1973 assaults on constables accounted for sixty-five per cent of all non-indictable offences.[115] For Parker, the patrolling officer 'must not only endure an isolation from his public but encounters the continuous look of hatred and senses an element of danger to his personal safety.'[116] Likewise, speaking to a Plain Clothes Inspector a few years later, McClure was told how, with violence so common, many officers had learnt to take a philosophical approach:

> I think some people, whether they know it or not, feel bruised at the end of a day's duty here. You come up against a lot of violence…I don't like the idea of people round here beating the police up, but at least they fight back…They've got some spirit.[117]

Just as hooligans fashioned a landscape of fear to which other spectators and local communities had to negotiate in turn, the experience of policing potentially hostile communities created an acute sense of topophobia for many officers, which manifested itself in a variety of ways. For example, Bernie, an A-Division officer in the late 1970s, described the experience of patrolling the

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[113] Interview with Steve Melia, 09/09/2015, p. 21. See also McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 72. 'Always radio for a back-up. Don't shout 'Con requires assistance' because then everybody comes, and it means you're on the floor, getting kicked to hell!'
[114] *Interim Report of the Working Party on Police/Public Relationships; The Merseyside Disturbances*, p. 4
[115] *Guardian*, 15th November 1979
[116] Parker, *View from the Boys*, p. 163
[117] McClure, *Spike Island*, pp. 527-528

interwar tenements as 'quite eerie – you didn't feel safe in there, you felt that you were being watched.'[118] As a result, the police approached troublesome areas with the upmost caution and avoided patrolling alone. Speaking to a CID Detective, McClure was told that:

> In Cheshire I could go out on me own and arrest somebody, and I very often did. But over here…(*Smiles*) Oh, I tried it once or twice, but I certainly wouldn't do it now…There's a fear here that you'll be attacked, and it's a genuine fear.[119]

Indeed, McClure was repeatedly informed that many officers were frightened to walk around Soho Street, with notorious blocks like the Four Squares best avoided if the situation merited it:

> A policewoman, a nice girl, was told to go into the Squares with a message at about three o'clock in the morning. From the radio, I gathered she was saying, 'Is there anybody else to go with me…Can I wait until its daylight before I go in?'[120]

As the above passage suggests, topophobias crystallised around the issue of female officers and their ability to police an environment perceived as too violent for their presence. These anxieties were longstanding, with the Liverpool City Police resisting the creation of a policewomen's department until 1947, one of the last forces in the country to do so.[121] Until the Sex Discrimination Act 1975, Merseyside retained this specific women's division and certain tasks deemed too physical, such as policing football matches, were prohibited. However, in securing the same conditions of service for female officers, the 1975 Act opened up areas of previously restricted police work to women, ushering in considerable unease as to how they would cope. Almost

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[118] Interview with Bernie Swift, 27/05/2016, p. 23
[119] McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 81
[120] *Ibid*, pp. 72-73. See also Interview with Steve Melia, 09/09/2015, p. 10
[121] Brogden, *On the Mersey Beat*, p. 170. However, 'policewomen' had a longer history stretching back to the Liverpool Vigilance Association (1908), Women's Preventive Patrols (1914), Women Police Movement Committee (1922) and the Women's Auxiliary Police Corps (1939). See S. Caslin, ''One Can Only Guess What Might Have Happened if the Worker had not Intervened in Time': The Liverpool Vigilance Association, Moral Vulnerability and Irish Girls in Early- to Mid-Twentieth Century Liverpool', *Women's History Review*, 25.2 (2016), p. 255; A History of Policewomen in Liverpool by A. Kirby
<http://liverpoolcitypolice.co.uk/#/policewomen/4552160933> [accessed 21/02/2017]

overnight, the *Guardian* suggested policewomen had gone from 'dealing with lost children and distraught lady shoplifters to patrolling beats, at night and alone.'[122] Whereas Louise Jackson has demonstrated that these concerns were held nationally, they were often most keenly felt in "tough" inner city districts.[123] This was especially poignant in Liverpool, which, for reasons explained above, struggled to recruit local men and so had the highest proportion of female officers in the country.[124] For example, Ken Oxford suggested in 1978 that whilst 'the majority of female officers in fact prefer outside duties, supervisory officers still have concerns for their physical well-being when they are patrolling some parts of the force area.'[125]

In October 1978, Fred Jones, Chairman of the Merseyside Police Federation, declared 'the Mersey beat too tough for women' and called not only for a halt to the recruitment of female officers but a reduction on the current figures.[126] Thirteen per cent should, Jones suggested, be brought down to around five per cent. Whilst Jones 'did not doubt the courage of Merseyside's women officers', he stated that 'you cannot really expect a woman, patrolling the streets at night alone, to do the job as effectively as a man.'[127] The suggestion that female officers lacked the brute force necessary to keep inner city divisions under control was a common one, and led to questions over their ability to do the job, as well as concerns for their personal safety. McClure found that it ran right to the top of A-Division; the Chief Superintendent suggesting that the violent nature of the inner city and its communities meant female officers were frequently placed in grave danger:

> Many of the girls are better academically than the lads, but they're obviously not physically equipped to do the rough stuff on the streets.

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[122] *Guardian*, 1st February 1978
[123] L. Jackson, *Women Police: Gender, Welfare and Surveillance in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); *Guardian*, 1st February 1978. See also *Guardian*, 15th May 1978
[124] *Guardian*, 28th September 1978
[125] Merseyside Police Authority, *Annual Report 1978*, p. 15
[126] *Liverpool Echo*, 29th October 1978
[127] *Ibid*

> When I look around this division, there's not really anywhere you can say, 'That's quiet' – send them there.[128]

Ironically, anxiety surrounding female officers in inner city spaces was seemingly not replicated for the general female public. Whereas fear of going out alone at night amongst women was extraordinarily high across Merseyside – in areas like Granby seventy-six per cent of women believed it 'fairly likely that something would happen' and twenty-seven per cent under the age of thirty had 'actual experience' of sexual harassment on the street – the corresponding statistics among local police officers was decidedly understated. Only five per cent of officers thought an incident to be 'fairly likely'.[129] Therefore, senior officers, apparently gravely concerned for the safety of their female colleagues, were 'totally unaware of the extent of harassment actually faced by women, which in turn suggests a considerable distance between these officers and the majority of the (female) public.'[130]

In reality, and in spite of significant rhetoric from within their own force, female officers adapted to their new conditions of policing. If anything, their experiences demonstrate that, rather than being unable to police difficult districts, male *and* female officers faced similar issues and experienced the same sense of inner city topophobia. Visiting the city in 1978, journalist Angela Singer found Linda Heron and Jane Smedley, aged twenty and nineteen and pictured in Image 5.3 on patrol in the Four Squares area of A-Division. Linda and Jane had first-hand experience of the hostile community reactions that drove so much of the unease around female officers, dodging bricks and the usual threats of retribution from irate locals. More seriously, Linda had been kicked in the face and Jane dragged along by a car, an incident at which McClure had been present.[131] What is striking about his reportage is that the camaraderie between officers seemed to disregard gender. Shortly after the

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[128] McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 517. See also p. 76
[129] *Merseyside Crime Survey*, p. 38, p. 43
[130] *Ibid*, p. 44
[131] *Guardian*, 1st February 1978

Image 5.3 – Constables Linda Heron and Jane Smedley on patrol in the Four Squares (1978)

incident, her inspector told McClure, 'she's talking about court cases and reports she hasn't done, so she's talking like a bobby, y'know!'[132] Moreover, Linda and Jane were keen to point out that 'male officers were no more resistant to chucked bricks or zooming cars than women', with both adamant that 'if women prefer to patrol in pairs so do the men.'[133] Similarly, McClure found that policewomen were more than willing to adopt the physical approach practiced by their male counterparts. Speaking to a female Section Sergeant, McClure was told 'you don't *need* to be hefty…it's a matter of guile and a little bit of tact. I've got a vicious left knee and I don't fight fair.'[134] That officers, both male and female, needed a degree of cunning was evident. As the 1970s wore on, it became increasingly apparent to many officers that the built architecture of renewal and decline was *actively fashioning* a material environment detrimental to effective policing, as the next section will investigate.

[132] McClure, *Spike Island*, pp. 371-373
[133] *Guardian*, 1st February 1978
[134] McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 323

Section III – Designing Crime Out of the Inner City

If the force's fears were increasingly set on the inner city as a space of hostility towards the police, then the material nature of the inner city environment was seen to be a determining factor in the dangers that officers faced on a daily basis. This process has already been briefly explored in relation to vandalism and juvenile delinquency in the previous chapter. This section builds upon those perspectives, stressing that the decrepit landscape of urban decline was seen to not just encourage youth into certain aberrant behaviours, but also to obstruct the wider function of effective policing, prohibit the development of positive community relations and provide ample opportunity for hostile community reactions. As the police struggled to create workable spaces from the landscapes produced by renewal and decline, their ire increasingly turned towards the urban planner. Consequently, the notion of "designing crime out" began to take hold, a process that would culminate in the introduction of suburban architectures into the inner city, in which the local police force were a prominent and influential voice.

The urban renewal projects of previous decades were seen to prevent the improvement of community relations. In this regard, the decline of the 'tea speck' – a house in the local community that invited officers in to refuel during their beat – became symptomatic of the difficulties posed by the new urban environment. Shown by Klein to be an essential method of informal policing during the interwar and immediate postwar period, tea specks were an intimate space of contact with members of the local community that provided the opportunity to establish contacts and access information.[135] In stable terraced streets they remained open and accessible to officers, as witnessed in Image 5.4, a shot taken from *Between the Anvil and the Hammer*. Likewise, Bob and Steve, both officers during the 1970s, held fond memories of being invited in for a cup of tea:

[135] See J. Klein, *Invisible Men: The Secret Life of Police Constables in Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham, 1900-1939* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), pp. 96-97, p. 315

Image 5.4 – An officer takes advantage of a "tea speck" in Toxteth (1973)

> There were loads of houses on the streets off Princes Avenue and Lodge Lane, I'd be walking past and they'd bring me in. I'd sit with the family and have a quick cup of tea.
>
> Police officers are always looking out for a cup of tea. I remember there was this old building on Mill Street, I knew her as Dolly. She was always inviting you in for a cup of tea and a biscuit…She was an immense social contact.[136]

In areas more affected by urban renewal programmes this intimate aspect of community relations appeared to have been bulldozed along with the old streets, with devastating consequences. Interviewing a veteran officer, McClure was told how the scale and anonymity of the high rises, as opposed to the intimacy and immediacy of the terraced street, prevented the development of strong community relations. Subsequently, the officer found himself in the

[136] Interview with Bob Edwards, 15/08/2015, p. 13; Interview with Steve Melia, 09/09/2015, p. 7

ambiguous space of "no-man's land", lacking contact with the community, access to information and a hot brew:

> Contact was the thing. You'd walk along the streets and they'd all be out on their doorsteps, able to take a good look at yer. Tea specks just aren't on these days. There's no way you can slip in and out of a house on the tenth floor, is there? They've stacked all the streets on top of one another, and the bobby's left walkin' out in no-man's land in between.[137]

In the aftermath of the 1981 disturbances, Richard Cranshaw, MP for Toxteth, even asked the police to consider removing vehicle patrols so that officers on the beat could 'get to know the community.' Crucially, in calling for a change to policing styles, Cranshaw's explicit focus turned towards the tea speck, stressing that even if it was against regulation, to 'go and knock on a door and have a cup of tea is the only way to get back the trust and confidence of the people in the area.'[138]

The inhuman and anonymous scale of the redeveloped urban landscape not only prohibited the development of working community relations but was also perceived to actively obstruct the function of effective policing, which, according to Superintendent Morgan, had 'been *built out* of shopping precincts and high-rise flats.'[139] By the late 1970s, McClure found a force struggling to cope with confusing road layouts, pedestrianized precincts and rat-run estates. One sergeant complained:

> I think it might be a good idea for these so-called city planners to have consulted us. Look at Scotland Road. You can join the traffic lights at St Anne Street, but it's more than a mile before you can turn off again…Oh, quite a few of our problems are caused by planning.[140]

Receiving an assistance call to Great Homer Street shortly afterwards, another inspector was said to groan in annoyance, 'trapped in the road system and unable to cut up one of the sealed-off side streets.' Instead, they 'drive the long

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[137] McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 166
[138] *Guardian*, 7th July 1981
[139] Italics added by author. Morgan, 'Liverpool: Active Police Involvement with the Community', p. 76
[140] McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 274

way round, the only way round, cursing every second lost.'[141] The puzzling road layout was also a point of annoyance for local communities, especially in areas served by Unit Beat. Following a meeting with police officials and council representatives in 1974, one residents' group 'were agreed that the Panda car was useless where they lived' because in the event of a chase 'most of the roads had been blocked off to traffic.'[142] The complex pattern of bollards, one-way streets and fractured junctions, ostensibly designed to aid traffic flow (and, in the case of Granby, to disrupt kerb-crawling activities) undermined Unit Beat's vehicle patrols and handed the initiative to criminals.[143]

Even the violence directed towards officers was said to stem from the material arrangement of the areas they patrolled. In 1977, the *Guardian* made a direct link between Liverpool's crime statistics and built urban environment, claiming that 'on the evidence it was hard not to see the previous year's 17 murders or attempted murders and 1,432 cases of assault as the product of a brutal environment, brutally created.'[144] More specifically, the scale and anonymity of the inner city was seen to present opportunities for ambush and attack, two particular points of unease being the walk-up tenements and modernist high rises. As well as intimidating passing officers, their height meant that everyday objects could be transformed into weapons, while the confusing layout of staircases, landings and empty properties meant that detection was difficult and arrest was unlikely. In introducing St Andrew's Gardens to his readers, McClure described the tenement as having long been associated with 'an ungiving and hostile attitude towards the police.' Hostile may have been correct, though the tenement was certainly not ungiving; from the landings residents gave passing officers verbal abuse, as well as 'raining down everything from chamber-pots to armchairs.'[145] Likewise, speaking to a policewoman originally from Manchester, McClure was told of how half a brick

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[141] *Ibid*, p. 371. See also p. 132
[142] *We Live There,* p. 34
[143] Shelter Neighbourhood Action Project, *Another Chance for Cities – SNAP 69-72* (Liverpool: SNAP, 1973), pp. 126-127; The Bollards of Liverpool 8
https://asenseofplace.com/2015/04/25/the-bollards-of-liverpool-8-2/[accessed 14/05/2016]
[144] *Guardian*, 30th January 1977
[145] McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 51

Image 5.5 – Anti-police graffiti in Kent Gardens, Liverpool City Centre (early 1980s)

thrown from a fourth floor landing knocked the front of her cap in Kent Gardens, pictured in Image 5.5, replete with the graffiti "Fuck Off Cops".[146] That the tenement's interior was a space of vulnerability was well established. A 1979 report into policing in Toxteth's Myrtle Gardens found that damage to patrol vehicles from 'stones and bricks thrown from the upper landings' was so common that it was putting two cars a week out of action.[147] Moreover, the baiting of patrolling officers explored in the previous chapter often culminated in ambush within the tenement's disorientating central curtilage, staircases and landings, where officers could be shut in from all sides and an innate knowledge of the tenement's layout offered an easy escape. Ken Oxford, for example, reported on instances in which motorcyclists encouraged the police to chase them, after which 'the police vehicle would be led into a tenement block area, where the motorcycle would disappear and a large number of youths would emerge.'[148]

Similar incidents occurred in the high rises, where passing police officers provided moving targets from the landings above. Parking outside a block of flats one night, Bernie, an officer during the 1970s, recalled 'hearing all sorts of shouting, "you cunt, you twat", whatever.' Later, upon returning to his car, he found his 'windscreen had been done in and parts of my uniform stolen.'[149] Likewise, Paul Trevor, living in Everton's Haigh House during the mid-1970s, remembers how the height of the block combined with hostile communities to elicit violent responses. Similarly, a detective described to McClure how responding to calls from the high rises could in fact be a trap:

> The "bizzies" were not allowed into the area. If they dared come, and they would sometimes patrol it, the kids removed ceramic toilets and would release it from the tenth floor and try and hit the patrol car.
>
> Get this call, see, which turns out to be malicious, but they don't know that. Stop by these flats and, for once, they get straight out. Wallop! A

[146] *Ibid*, pp. 325-326
[147] *"Merseyside – Into the Eighties with Pride": A Report on Community Policing in Myrtle Gardens Liverpool*, p. 2, LRO HQ363.20942753 MER
[148] *Public Disorder on Merseyside, July-August 1981*, p. 30. See also Interview with Jon Ward, 05/05/2016, pp. 5-7
[149] Interview with Bernie Swift, 27/05/2016, p. 24

> fokkin' breeze block off the fourth floor – straight down, straight through the panda's roof.[150]

If the police struggled to fashion workable spaces of order out of renewal and decline, then the perceived solution appeared to be in the creation of a new kind of inner city space. An attitude growing within the local force since the early 1970s stressed that material problems required material solutions, and that crime prevention could be built into urban environments, just as fencing, segregation and CCTV had been introduced to stifle hooliganism through an alteration to the physical environment of the stadium. Merseyside Police began to lobby on a local level for a greater say in the matter, stressing that they should be consulted in the planning process. For example, writing for the *Police Journal* in 1972, Detective Chief Inspector Rawlinson of the Liverpool and Bootle Constabulary suggested that 'police knowledge could guide environmental readjustment' so that 'known pitfalls and well-established crime-producing situations could be avoided.'[151] The situations to which Rawlinson referred were not the social or psychological causes of crime such as deprivation, addiction or unemployment, but the specific layout of the environment. The police, he concluded, should be represented on general planning committees at each level of local government. Likewise, Superintendent Morgan raised the idea of a technical fix when suggesting that crime prevention 'should be built into urban development as much as it is being built into new cars.'[152] Evidence that these ideas were taking root in Liverpool's planning departments was clear; in 1978, the Liverpool Inner City Partnership, a city council joint planning body, recognised that Liverpool's 'policing commitment, now and in the future,' was to be '*inextricably linked* with any inner city development programme.'[153]

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[150] Interview with Paul Trevor, 30/09/2016, p. 5; McClure, *Spike Island*, p. 100. See also Interview with Jon Ward, 05/05/2016, p. 5; Interview with Bernie Swift, 27/05/2016, p. 14

[151] P. Rawlinson, 'Environmental Effects on Policing', *Police Journal*, 45.3 (1972), p. 251. See also Morgan, 'Liverpool: Active Police Involvement with the Community', p. 76.

[152] Morgan, 'Liverpool: Active Police Involvement with the Community', p. 76

[153] Italics added by author. Liverpool Inner City Partnership Programme Committee, *Liverpool Inner City Partnership Programme, 1979-82* (Liverpool: Liverpool Inner City Partnership Committee, 1978), p. 65

The issue only became more critical in the wake of the 1981 disturbances, as newspapers like the *Guardian* attributed events to 'the city's mindless building experiments' and the 'decivilising conditions of urban life' that followed.[154] By that point, Merseyside's Chief Constable was pressuring for yet more input on behalf of the police into urban planning processes. For Oxford, the links were evident; disorder stemmed from 'the construction of estates and residential units open to the disorderly element but which cannot either be patrolled by police or protected by residents', to which future design guidelines 'must take account of the police need to maintain contact with the community as a social resource, as well as enforcers of the law.'[155] Explicitly blaming previous approaches for the complete breakdown in order seen that summer, Oxford went on to suggest that 'previous residential developments have not recognised this essential feature or, even worse, have ignored it.[156] Oxford's wishes were soon to be granted in the unlikely form of Liverpool's newly elected Militant Labour council, which gained control in May 1983 on a pledge to protect public sector jobs and services and to tackle the city's decrepit housing, reputed to be the worst in Western Europe. As the 1978 Liverpool Inner City Partnership report suggested, criminality and its relation to the built architecture of renewal had been in the minds of planners for some time and Militant's planned Urban Regeneration Strategy proposed drastic and fundamental changes to the inner city landscape.

The Urban Regeneration Strategy and the Implementation of Suburban Architectures

The ambition and scale of the Urban Regeneration Strategy was immense. Described as 'one of the most radical and major development schemes carried out by any British city since the war', it established seventeen "priority areas" (fourteen located in the inner city) that would see £100 million of investment in order to eradicate the city's worst tower blocks and slums and

[154] *Guardian*, 2nd August 1981 and 8th July 1981
[155] *Appendix D: Liverpool Inner City Partnership: A Police View of Inner City Problems* in *Public Disorder on Merseyside, July-August 1981*, p. 3
[156] *Ibid*, p. 3

replace them with 5,000 council homes.[157] Affecting 40,000 people over 400 hectares, its "total approach" encompassed schools, nurseries, hospitals, sports centres and several new parks – including Everton Park, the largest inner city park to be built in Britain in the twentieth century.[158] The *Daily Post* suggested that the entire programme was bigger than the slum clearances of the 1950s and 1960s and, in just five years, would be completed in a quarter of the time.[159] Nicknamed "Hatton's Houses" after Militant's Deputy Leader, Derek Hatton, the plan was in fact the brainchild of the Chair of Economic Development and Finance, Tony Byrne. The two men could not have been more different. Hatton was known for his sharp suits, immaculate grooming and charismatic, media-savvy approach. Byrne, a committed socialist but not technically a member of Militant was bearded and known for his scruffy jumpers and training shoes.

The URS represented a wholesale rejection of the logics that governed previous renewal projects; 'a complete rupture', in the words of Tony Mulhearn, President of the District Labour Party.[160] Byrne was less diplomatic in his descriptions, instead simply branding previous local politicians as 'dickheads.'[161] Crucially, the Strategy's guidelines read like a litany of complaints aimed squarely at earlier approaches: small developments of semi-detached houses and bungalows would replace tenements and tower blocks; terraces would be in short streets with no back alleys; larger sites were to be subdivided, with houses facing conventional streets; pedestrian and vehicular separation was strictly prohibited, as was communal open space.[162] Therefore, what the URS proposed was not merely a strategy for the city's regeneration but a fundamental alteration to the streetscape of the inner city. In the face of

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[157] M. Crick, *The March of Militant* (London: Faber and Faber, 1986), p. 236; Murden, 'City of Change and Challenge', p. 456
[158] *Urban Regeneration Strategy: The Total Approach*, p. 1, LRO HQ711.40942753 CIT; Crick, *The March of Militant*, p. 236
[159] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 15th October 1985
[160] P. Taaffe and T. Mulhearn, *Liverpool: A City that Dared to Fight* (London: Fortress, 1988), p. 159
[161] *Guardian*, 7th August 1984
[162] *Urban Regeneration Strategy: The Total Approach*, p. 4

Image 5.6 – The Piggeries, shortly before demolition, makes way for new housing in Everton (1985)

severe population losses, the inner city was to be considerably scaled down, demolishing the high-rise blocks that had come to dominate parts of Vauxhall and Everton in particular, including the notorious Piggeries, as seen in Image 5.6. The scheme also took aim at the city's tenement blocks such as Thomas White Gardens, demolishing them at a rate of one a month between 1983 and 1985. In their place came something altogether more suburban – semi-detached houses with front and back gardens.

As a politically radical council's most provocative initiative, the wider fiscal and political effects wrought by the URS have been well covered.[163] However, the architectural and ideological significance of the plan has been largely ignored and, although hampered by financial and political difficulties, enough of it was undertaken to have a significant material impact. The scheme transformed swathes of inner city Liverpool between 1983 and 1987 with 4,000 new houses and bungalows, 500 converted via a process of "top-downing" and 8,000 houses or flats improved.[164] Around 2,500 tenement flats

[163] R. Meegan, 'Merseyside in Crisis and Conflict' in M. Harlow, C. Pickvance and J. Urry (eds), *Place, Policy and Politics: Do Localities Matter?* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 69
[164] Murden, 'City of Change and Challenge', pp. 461-463

were demolished alongside 1,200 multi-storey flats and 2,500 maisonettes, with general commendation for the scheme's focus of concentrating vast resources into the areas of most need; a policy of positive discrimination that meant residential improvement was most visible in the inner city.[165]

Most importantly, the ideological doctrine that shaped the plan was indicative of contemporary thought processes regarding regeneration and played intimately into wider concerns regarding crime and the inner city. In shaping the landscape in a very particular way, it was clear that the URS, as the council suggested, had 'a significance beyond the physical provision of a decent home.' Instead, the design guidelines provided for 'certain important elements – *privacy*, *safety* and *security* is increased', and offered fundamental solutions to the longstanding issues of crime and juvenile delinquency:

> The safety of residents moving across the residential area is optimised; the opportunity for vandalism and loitering in hidden areas is minimised; and surveillance of the street can easily take place…all of this contributes positively to social behaviour; teenagers are less likely to lapse into the anti-social behaviour of vandalism, burglary and mugging because there is significantly less opportunity.[166]

Put simply, the plan represented a belief that crime prevention could be achieved through a manipulation of the physical environment; points mooted at various stages over the previous decade by local police officers like Morgan, Rawlinson and Oxford, and that McClure had demonstrated was commonplace thinking within the rank and file of the force. *Designing crime out* of the inner city was one of the URS's central features, a philosophy that relied on the assumption that modernist inner city environments inherently fostered disorder. It was, therefore, in line with *en vogue* theoretical thinking, aligning with the proponents of 'Defensible Space' theory and 'Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design' like Oscar Newman, C. Ray Jeffery and Alice Coleman, each of whom stressed the connection between crime rates and "bad

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[165] Z. Tang and P. Batey, 'Intra-Urban Spatial Analysis of Housing-related Urban Policies: The Case of Liverpool, 1981-1991', *Urban Studies*, 33.6 (1996), p. 932

[166] Italics added by author. Liverpool City Council, *Urban Regeneration Strategy* (Liverpool: Liverpool City Council, 1986), p. 4, LRO HQ711.40942753 COU

architecture."[167] The URS even caught the attention of Coleman, then head of the Land Use Research Unit at King's College, who visited the city in September 1985 and proclaimed that 'Liverpool has got it right.'[168] She lauded praise on the council, stressing that 'I don't think anyone else is working at this speed' and that 'practically everything we have recommended they are doing – not in patches but the whole lot – Liverpool is the pioneer.'[169] Militant were more than happy to repeat Coleman's praises, never pausing 'to wonder why an architectural advisor to Margaret Thatcher might be praising low-density housing in inner cities.'[170]

For instance, the URS subscribed to many of the design elements of Defensible Space theory. Territoriality was encouraged through the use of low-rise, clearly delineated semi-detached housing, with private front and back gardens and clear boundary walls and gates. Spaces in which ownership was unclear, contested or shared were avoided and the plan stated that there would be 'a total absence of anonymous hidden communal areas, stairwells, courtyards and external corridors' and that open space and play areas would be completely in view; policies that encouraged greater levels of natural surveillance.[171] Similarly, the introduction of improved security systems in the remaining high-rises essentially privatised the communal spaces of entry.[172] Increased surveillance was likewise encouraged through the importance attached to the street. Front-facing houses with no segregation between pedestrians and vehicles were favoured, alongside pledges to invest in street lighting to improve security.[173] Meanwhile the image of the area was enhanced via the creation of desirable, landscaped, suburban-style semi-detached housing, often in the form of cul-de-sacs, the significance of which has been stressed by Owen Hatherley and local town planner Jonathan Brown. Seen as bestowing enhanced levels of privacy and community cohesion, cul-de-sacs

[167] Newman, *Defensible Space*; C. R. Jeffery, *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977); Coleman, *Utopia on Trial*
[168] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 12th September 1985
[169] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 15th October 1985; *Guardian*, 2nd December 1985
[170] Hatherley, *New Ruins of Great Britain*, p. 336
[171] Liverpool City Council, *Urban Regeneration Strategy*, p. 4
[172] *Guardian*, 2nd December 1985
[173] *Urban Regeneration Strategy: The Total Approach*, p. 6

eliminated the endless rat runs utilised by criminals and were, therefore, widely utilised as a measure of crime prevention. Tellingly, Hatherley was struck by the similarity between developments in Belfast and Derry, where terrorism and sectarian disorder dominated the agenda, and the URS's pattern of brick cul-de-sacs separated by perimeter walls.[174] Indeed, Brown suggests that Liverpool's cul-de-sacs were built 'defensively, like circled wagons', representing the 'physical response to a climate of social breakdown and fear of crime in the wake of rapid depopulation and riots.'[175]

Suburban architectures would continue to be (and, indeed, still are being) transplanted onto inner city settings long after the demise of Militant and the URS. From the mid-1980s onwards the Eldonians and other housing co-operatives in the city, who would long outlast their Militant opponents, went on to create a series of 'model inner city villages.'[176] Utilising the cul-de-sac, the Eldonians were amongst the first housing projects in Britain to explicitly involve the police in the design of the "village", resulting in an estate of over 500 properties serviced by just three access points in which pedestrians are constantly 'overlooked by a number of houses.'[177] Their popularity with local residents was unquestioned. Indeed, Militant's promotional literature and contemporary media reports promoted this mundane suburban idyll, whilst simultaneously exploiting a mythologised past of close-knit inner city communities. The densely packed terraces were long gone, but the superficial image of gossiping, carefree neighbours in apparently stable neighbourhoods appeared to have come full circle. The council stressed that children could now 'play safely in their own gardens and neighbours can gossip over fences, secure in their own territory.'[178] Likewise, the *Echo* suggested that by shifting residents from 'grotty tenements' to 'spanking new two-bedroomed houses', the council

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[174] O. Hatherley, *A New Kind of Bleak: Journeys Through Urban Britain* (London: Verso, 2012), p. 321

[175] 'Why where the Four Streets emptied out anyway? A Granby back story' <https://www.granbyworkshop.co.uk/blogs/articles/69937859-why-were-the-four-streets-emptied-out-anyway-a-granby-back-story> [accessed on 28/01/2017]. See also Hatherley, *New Ruins of Great Britain*, p. 336

[176] J. McBane, *The Rebirth of Liverpool: The Eldonian Way* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), p. xii

[177] *Ibid*, p. 6, p. 25

[178] Liverpool City Council, *Urban Regeneration Strategy*, p. 4

was facilitating a move 'from prison to paradise.' In Leason Street in Kirkdale, they found Margaret Dolphin, who had recently moved from a flat in Heriot Place, Vauxhall, who proclaimed '"It's marvellous, like a million dollars to me"' as she 'proudly showed off her new home just off Scotland Road…where neighbours lean over garden walls and fences for a chat as the community spirit flows again.'[179]

Within this new landscape, it was the quintessentially suburban space of the garden that attracted most attention. Not only was it a significant badge of pride for new residents, it became a point of fascination for commentators. The *Architects' Journal*, for example, described the city's emerging neighbourhoods of 'riotous self-expression and unmanacled individualism', albeit in a curiously uniform pattern of gnomes, windmills and garden decorations.[180] Likewise, local media was more than willing to provide a long list of blissful residents living out their suburban dreams. Margaret's neighbour, former Merchant Navy seaman John Wilkinson, was described by the *Echo* as having a 'garden that looks like an advert from a glossy magazine.'[181] Meanwhile, Margaret's husband, Billy 'tends tomatoes in the back garden and dahlias in the neat front garden. All he could hope for before was a few plants squashed on a balcony and a bleak view of some of Liverpool's worst housing.'[182] Likewise, George and Alice Currie, who moved from a sixth-floor flat in Netherfield Brow to a two-bedroomed house in Ermine Crescent 'have sprouted green fingers after a life of living among concrete and cobbled streets. Carnations, alpines and roses bloom while six-months-old puppy, Ben plays in the back garden.'[183] Not wanting to be outdone, the *Daily Post* introduced its readers to their own roster of happy and contented burbs. When introducing Tom and Vera Nickson, recently rehoused from a 'cold, somewhat bleak' pre-war tenement in the Dingle, the readers' attention was quickly pointed towards the space of the garden and the idyllic and wholesome activities it promoted. Tom, they wrote, 'cuts the grass, looks after the hanging baskets and wallflowers and puts bread out for the birds

[179] *Liverpool Echo*, 12th September 1985
[180] *Architects' Journal*, 12th July 1978, p. 75
[181] *Liverpool Echo*, 12th September 1985
[182] *Ibid*
[183] *Ibid*

which perch on a table he made in his new garden shed', while Vera 'sits in the sunshine', to be heard remarking '"Its lovely, *quite simply a different world*."'[184]

Of course, the genesis of this alternative city predated the URS. Suburban inner city architectures stemmed from at least as early as a 1971 National Economic Development Office report entitled *New Homes in the Cities* and, in covering the trend in Everton's Stanfield Road, the *Architects' Journal* claimed that by 1978 Liverpool's inner city had twenty sites in which private, suburban-style houses – nicknamed 'semi-detached Butlinsvilles' – were being or had recently been built.[185] Crucially however, the URS represented the clearest and most coherent physical response yet to a much wider fear that was attached to the inner city as both a material space and an abstract notion. As previously noted by Saumarez Smith, by the 1970s the concept of 'the Inner City' had become the spatially materialised locus for all that was perceived to have gone wrong with postwar British society.[186] Central to this idea was the alarmingly high rates of crime and disorder and, as this chapter has suggested, policing in the 1970s relied on the assumption that the very material constitution of Liverpool's inner city provided a setting conducive to criminality. Fuelled by fears of social breakdown, stoked further by the disturbances of 1981, that Militant aimed to rebuild a distinctly *un-urban* city in what had previously been a thoroughly metropolitan setting was therefore no accident.

Instead, projects like these provided the strongest possible countermeasure to the bleak landscape they replaced. Vera's "different world" of the new and the green was often directly, and positively, compared with the modernist spaces of renewal, a process couched within grandiose suburban rhetoric. The *Guardian*, for example, evoked the image of a city returning to nature, just as the Ministry of Housing and Local Government had first considered in 1973.[187] In an article titled 'The Greening of Liverpool', the paper suggested that where only 'a few months ago was a squalid labyrinth of

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[184] Italics added by author. *Liverpool Daily Post*, 15th October 1985
[185] National Economic Development Office, *New Homes in the Cities: The Role of the Private Developer in Urban Renewal in England and Wales* (London: HMSO, 1971); *Architects' Journal*, 12th July 1978, p. 76
[186] Saumarez Smith, 'The Inner City Crisis and the End of Urban Modernism', p. 581
[187] See p. 68

tenements and walk-up blocks…100 acres of greenery is being carved out of the dereliction.'[188] Likewise, whereas the *Echo* described poor housing as 'a cancer that has been gnawing away at communities for decades', it suggested that the effects of the URS meant that 'the heart of Liverpool is beating again as a garden city rises from the rubble of demolished slums.' Channelling Johnny Johnson and the Bandwagon, the paper suggested that bulldozers were 'breaking down the walls of heartache to clear away the misery of run-down housing.'[189] The URS therefore represented the supposedly logical conclusion that stemmed from a deep-seated fear of the inner city as a disorderly, violent and criminal space that obstructed the task of effective policing and community relations, amongst so many other problems. If the high-rise provided an advantageous environment for criminals, vandals, hooligans and delinquents, then the imitation of the low-density, low-crime (not to mention socioeconomically stronger) environment of the suburbs was perceived to be part of the solution.

[188] *Guardian*, 2nd December 1985
[189] *Liverpool Echo*, 12th September 1985

Conclusion

If, as Saumarez Smith suggests, by the 1970s the inner city had become the spatially materialised locus of all that was perceived to have gone wrong in postwar Britain, then it was the breakdown of law and order that carried the most political, social and cultural weight. Of course, unease regarding crime and inner city environments was nothing new, but that such fears attached themselves to wider contemporary trends such as urban renewal, depopulation and urban decline suggest that they created in the cultural imagination, and in the minds of the authorities responsible for policing the inner city, a potent image of lawlessness.

These cultural representations had powerful and tangible effects on how the inner city was regulated and policed, the everyday life of its communities and, eventually, upon the very physical layout of the inner city itself. In an effort to establish control over a changing urban environment, the police force in Liverpool adopted a series of new tactics in inner city areas, from trialling technologies and techniques such as CCTV and Unit Beat to the development of specialised departments and the installation of an increasingly high-profile presence of patrols and displays of force. The alteration in policing styles led to inevitable contests with large sections of the inner city population, who displayed considerable agency by responding to the attempted application of law and order in their communities in diverse ways. Changing techniques led many to feel isolated from those designated the task of keeping them safe; constant policing operations led certain groups to change how they used and moved through urban space in order to evade surveillance; perhaps most worryingly, well-established anti-police attitudes could boil over into outright physical violence towards officers. As a result, many officers viewed the inner city as a dangerous, topophobic space in which patrolling alone or at night became points of considerable anxiety, especially around the issue of female officers, and to which the material layout of the inner city was deemed to have a significant portion of responsibility.

Building on these anxieties and complex community relations, Liverpool's police force began lobbying for a greater role in the urban planning

process. The architecture of urban renewal was seen to prohibit the development of good community relations and effective policing strategies, and police desires to shape the material environment of the inner city were evident and growing throughout the 1970s. In many regards, the Urban Regeneration Strategy absorbed these wider ideas regarding crime, urban space and the modernist inner city, representing a formative stage in a much wider trend towards the suburbanisation of Liverpool's inner city. Both central and local urban planning policies of the later 1980s, 1990s and 2000s did little to change the weather, continuing the trend of suburban architectures. Crucially, just like the processes of urban renewal and urban decline before them, they brought about their own raft of changes that would buffet, shape and alter the material nature, the social make-up and the culture of the inner city once more.

Conclusion – A View from Everton Brow

Climbing up Everton Brow today presents a very different picture from the one that greeted travellers some thirty years previously. Wandering around the site upon which the notorious Piggeries once stood illustrates the scale of change witnessed in the three decades since Canterbury, Crosbie and Haigh Heights came crashing back down to earth just twenty short years after their opening. The Piggeries were the biggest scalp claimed by Militant's Urban Regeneration Strategy – a nationally recognised symbol of the city's stunning decline and a wider metaphor for the ills that afflicted its inner city. Blitzed and bulldozed, in its place arose modest row houses, semi-detached suburban lookalikes and bungalows, curiously mismatched in style and age and cul-de-sacced in a disorientating manner. Like any neighbourhood, neat and tidy gardens jostle for the passer-by's attention alongside those crowded with an array of kitsch garden furniture and those that appear overgrown and unloved. An occasional pedestrian ambles past every so often, though walking through the estate is a solitary affair in the main. The area's sense of location is hard to judge. Although Liverpool's skyline intermittently emerges from over the low rooftops, the nearby city presents itself more as a distant hum in the background, broken only by the sounds of barking dogs and occasional birdsong. Hints of what once were do remain, if one looks hard enough; signs for Canterbury Way and Haigh Street pay hushed and solemn reminder to previous times; remnants of the old grid pattern occasionally reappear out of the cul-de-sacs, crescents and dead-ends; a haggard row of shops, noticeably older than all that surrounds it, stands brazenly at the bottom of William Henry Street, though only a small newsagent now remains, defiantly open. Visible from every angle is the spire of Saint Francis Xavier's Church, towering over the surrounding houses in a manner embarrassed by its own grandeur. That the area may have once reached skywards with such confidence now appears ludicrous. Leaving is a far more challenging task than entering, yet follow Salisbury Street long enough for it to become Carver Street and the city centre immediately reveals itself, the instant change in scale and bombardment of noise emanating from what was completed of the inner motorway seizing the attention, and essentially tearing the two areas apart.

That a city is always changing and evolving in innumerable ways is self-evident. However, the *scale* of change to Everton Brow is testament to the importance of this study. By the 1970s, the results of Liverpool's urban renewal policies had become, rightly or wrongly, symbolic of all that had gone wrong in the city, and the scorched earth policy wreaked since suggests that these are neighbourhoods born out of a desire to erase and forget. Very little now remains. A few tower blocks disguised in fresh cladding protrude upwards if one surveys from the heights of Everton Park. St Andrew's Gardens persists in recognisable condition nestled behind London Road, though students now populate its corridors as opposed to the 'The Boys' of Parker's studies, or the "bucks" and "buckesses" encountered by McClure. In the main, the landscapes created, moulded and buffeted by urban modernism have been largely swept away and consigned to memory. With seldom little formal commemoration to mark these changes, the memories, emotions and experiences that this massive urban experiment engendered may soon fade alongside them. The coming decade or two demands their comprehensive collection and presentation, especially as certain groups soon pass out of living memory.

Precisely which memories come to the fore is a point of upmost consequence. Official narratives often present the inner city as a site of endemic social problems and urban decay; of failed estates, of rampant crime, of bricks and bottles hurled in anger during the hot summer of 1981, of representations shaped by discourses grounded in failure and fear that stereotyped communities and ignored their everyday urban experiences. Indeed, the stigmatisation that assigned values and status to the inner city and its residents echoed older cultural representations and replicated many of the prejudices and predispositions that surrounded previous working-class neighbourhoods. As early as 1973, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government were alarmed by the 'confusion' arising from government use of term 'inner area.' It was, they suggested, being used 'rather loosely as a substitute for a more precise statement of some of the troubles which would seem to be frequently associated with the people who live in inner areas of many of our older and larger towns.' They went on to suggest that the definition should be more

directly tied to 'the area itself and the physical fabric of its component parts.'[1] Precise statements would, however, elude Wilson and Womersley in their introductory synopsis and their depiction of inner city populations, which now appears reliant upon a series of reductive labels – 'the unskilled', 'the unemployed', 'the socially disadvantaged' – ignorant to a diverse accumulation of population, culture and practice. By retracing the nuanced ways in which these landscapes are recalled, this project has sought to demolish, contest and expand upon these one-dimensional definitions. It has sought to provide more precise statements about exactly *who* populated the inner city during this period of immense change. Unskilled, unemployed and disadvantaged they may have been, but to label them solely as such would be deeply unjust.

Instead, this thesis has hopefully established methods that could be used in future studies of renewal and decline in the modern city. It has presented the rich and diverse communities that existed underneath and alongside the processes of urban planning, urban renewal and the narratives and representations of urban decline. It has exposed how planning, renewal and decline in Liverpool affected its population, their sense of place, how they used their city and how they perceived, regulated and policed their communities. Crucially, it positions the inner city as a vibrant and contested social and cultural space, to which individuals exercised a profound sense of agency through their ability to use, claim and *live* in the city. Put simply, this was a relationship that was mutually constitutive. As considerable exercises in state power, the new landscapes created by planners, architects and local government, and their subsequent decline, deeply shaped the city and the structure of and potential for everyday life within it. They exerted a profound effect over the geography and culture of inner city communities. However, that individuals and communities – themselves buffeted by planning, renewal and decline and riven across the cleavages of religion, age, race and gender, between the orderly and disorderly and all in between – retained an agency with which to shape their own lives within these frameworks is evident. Their cultures and practices, their conceptions of urban space and everyday life, were deeply

[1] *Liverpool Urban Guidelines Study: departmental comments on the report.* TNA HLG 141/213

embedded within the cityscape. In transforming planned intent into lived reality, they created a productive and lively urban fabric in a city that, at first glance, offered nothing but decline and decay. Plans for a secular city were met with a series of religious appropriations. Desires of instilling orderly forms of football spectatorship encountered a shifting landscape of disorderly activity. Attempts toward a nurturing urban environment were disregarded by local youth. Endeavours to better police communities faced opposition and evasion at every turn. In short, the "*they*" of Wilson and Womersley's musings immeasurably shaped Liverpool.

These mutually constitutive interactions – between communities and a variety of state actors, and between communities themselves – 'produced' a series of spaces, of which each chapter has provided an example. Religious groups sporadically competed for access to the city's public spaces, resulting in communal geographies defined by denomination and sectarianism. The football stadium, and the routines and rituals that surrounded it, legitimated certain forms of behaviour and established concurrent landscapes of fandom and disorder; the former steeped in affective and carnivalesque notions of place, the latter transforming everyday urban spaces into battlegrounds defined by violence, fear and exclusion. An unravelling urban fabric gifted local youth spaces in which to fashion distinctive cultures of play and step forward as a knowing and visible urban actor, exercising an agency that sparked unease amongst adults regarding both their safety *and* behaviour. Finally, policing underwent a series of changes in response to the new environment in which it functioned, in which communities to varying degrees negotiated with and evaded the application of law and order in their neighbourhoods. Liverpool's inner city during this period was therefore an acute point of contestation, each of these overlapping and concurrent interactions comprising of a delicate negotiation between the numerous parties over precisely *who* had the right to make and shape place. Driven by notions of territoriality, militarism and appropriation, each interaction fashioned distinctive urban practices that textured Liverpool's inner city, a series of urban rituals and routines that regularly co-opted the city into achieving its goals. Some, such as parading, spectatorship, hooliganism and rioting, as well as Popes and Cathedrals,

intermittently erupted to boldly seize control of the landscape, before fading once again to leave only an afterglow in the memory of the city and its inhabitants. Others, such as graffiti, play, delinquency, criminal activity and the cultures of self-policing, appeared as a series of more continual yet ephemeral practices, often obscure and, to the outside commentator, lurking just out of sight, just out of understanding. Whether sporadic or sustained, their presence demonstrates the vibrancy of inner city life in this period. That it meant so much, and so different, to so many illustrates the diversity *amongst* its population.

This thesis has also provided a detailed investigation into the spaces and places that became adopted into wider discourses regarding social breakdown in the inner city, furthering our understandings into the particularities of its "crisis". If the inner city was the spatially materialised locus for all that had gone wrong in postwar Britain – the physical location where many of the period's emerging anxieties appeared manifest – then this thesis has explored precisely *where* this crisis manifested itself and *how* it interacted with the lived realities and experiences of the populations that were subject to such representations.[2] As an urban space over which control appeared to have been lost, there was much over which to fret. Religious parades invited the throwing of bricks, bottles and fists along their routes, football hooligans utilised the stadium and the surrounding streets to engage in disorder, youth exploited the fallow spaces of modernist renewal for vandalism and delinquency, whereas certain communities holding ambiguous opinions on law and order used the landscape of decline and decay to evade the authorities. Each activity was inherently emplaced, and was enlisted in its own way to shape and inform the fears and critiques surrounding the inner city. Put simply, the *idea* of an inner city crisis grew up around certain material spaces (such as the football stadium, vacant land, tower blocks and tenements) *and* the emplacement of discursive constructs (like the hooligan, the joyrider, the juvenile delinquent and the lawless community) within them. That the eventual solution – suburbanisation

[2] Saumarez Smith, 'The Inner City Crisis and the End of Urban Modernism', p. 581

– engendered such a drastic transformation to the nature of the inner city illustrates the influence of these cultural representations.

This thesis has chosen to focus on the city of Liverpool and can therefore speak with authority only on the cultures and practices of that particular city. However, using Liverpool as a litmus test demonstrates the considerable scope for further study into the cultures of renewal and decline. Doing so would help to shift the focus solely from world cities such as London, New York and Paris to include, compare and expose the links with a whole host of second-tier cities. Similar processes of planning and renewal, and of decay and decline, were experienced across Britain and much further afield. The processes through which urban modernism moulded and buffeted the urban working class, though operating in different political, legal and cultural contexts, were undoubtedly transnational. Urban and architectural histories are beginning to examine in detail the flow of ideas and policies within this intellectual network, but investigations into the results of these flows on the cultures, practices and societies of urban life are, as of yet, largely absent. A broader investigation – into the experiences of cities geographically, socially and culturally disparate, yet connected by similar themes of postwar urban trauma – is required. Such processes were experienced by vast numbers of people living in some of the twentieth century's most well-known cities, on both a national (Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Newcastle) and international (Detroit, St Louis, Cleveland, Le Havre, Marseilles, Calais, Liège, Turin and Duisberg) scale. Likewise, the potential avenues into what may be broadly defined as colonial contexts are intriguing. Exploring the exchange of knowledge, practice and representation between what were variously perceived of as distant and disorderly cities like Nairobi or Hong Kong (and perhaps settings closer to home, such as Belfast and Derry) and similarly problematic spaces (and populations) *within* the metropole could highlight the colonial and post-colonial impacts on postwar urban life in Britain. Namely, to what extent did the empire strike back?

This thesis ends at a deeply ambiguous moment for Liverpool's inner city. Militant's Urban Regeneration Strategy was by no means the first attempt

to introduce suburban architectures into inner city settings. However, it was the most comprehensive and coherent intervention yet staged on a material setting that was widely heralded as a contributory agent in the city's complex mixture of socioeconomic problems. Crucially, in attempting to fashion a completely different cityscape, the URS was more than a simple technical fix. It was an ideological positioning on the question of precisely what the inner city should *be*. That it came down so forcefully on one side of the debate is clear; it represents the visible implementation of theories of defensible space espoused by Newman and Coleman and the outright rejection of many of the ideals that had defined the city's previous renewal programmes. That no alternative appeared to remain provided a damning indictment to what had come before and, whereas considerable population losses and decimated land values made that alteration in scale and nature *possible*, fears of a modernist inner city environment made the changes entirely *desirable*. One thing, however, was clear. The inner city, as previously known, was dead.

The results, like the insular, cul-de-sacced estates that sit atop Everton Brow, are nothing short of aesthetically bizarre. Owen Hatherley, for example, suggests that whole swathes of inner Liverpool 'look utterly ridiculous', at complete odds with its 'thrillingly urban' centre.[3] Poignantly, Hatherley writes that Liverpool's 'recent history is a massive demonstration of the unnerving fact that many don't seem to *want* cities, even one as good as this.'[4] Militant's abandonment of the principles of urban life would be continued by a succession of more politically moderate descendants, so that much now follows the pattern set by Everton Brow. Perhaps the most notorious was New Labour's "Pathfinder" programme. A deeply flawed initiative aimed at regenerating deprived inner city neighbourhoods, it adopted many of the panicked discourses that had accompanied Militant's manifesto in order to legitimise the widespread demolition of areas such as Anfield and Toxteth. In what has become a recurring feature of Liverpool's postwar experience, Pathfinder's appetite for *tabula rasa* negatively impacted many cities, but undoubtedly hit Liverpool hardest. One Pathfinder boss was even remarked to have called inner

[3] Hatherley, *New Ruins of Great Britain*, pp. 331-336
[4] *Ibid*, p. 332

Liverpool 'an obsolete urban hell'. As a phrase just as likely to have been uttered at any one of the city's turning points since 1945, it represented a crude simplification of a complex and historic metropolitan core that, whilst suffering from deep levels of deprivation, also displayed a rich architectural fabric and an array of cultural diversity.[5] Ironically, the Urban Regeneration Strategy, Pathfinder and the variety of schemes in between have proved just as blind to the social and economic determinants that truly affected the community's levels of deprivation as the modernist statements that preceded them. Perhaps more worryingly, the micromanagement of urban space promoted by such strategies has proven a far more subtle and pervasive exercise in power over the everyday, working-class spaces of the city. To what extent the distinctive cultures and practices unearthed in this study managed to survive, which ones managed to adapt, and which ones perished, are important questions for further study.

[5] Housing Scandal! Pathfinders: A Postmortem, A Report by Bill Finlay and Jonathan Brown, Commissioned by SAVE Britain's Heritage (2011), <https://www.savebritainsheritage.org/docs/articles/Jb%20intro.pdf> [Accessed on 15/11/2017]

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Miscellaneous

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